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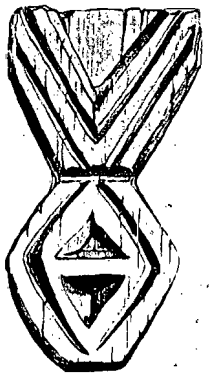
NURISTAN

AKADEMISCHE DRUCK - u. VERLAGSANSTALT
GRAZ / AUSTRIA
1979

© Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, Graz 1979
Gesamtherstellung in der eigenen Anstalt

Printed in Austria
ISBN 3-201-01085-5
294.78

Book Mans 1/14/85



To our Friends in Nuristan and to the Memory of

Georg Morgenstierne

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface 9
Acknowledgements 11
I. Introduction 13
II. The Country 19
Geomorphology 19
Climate 23
Vegetation 31
Fauna 40
III. The Nuristani Community 44
IV. Agriculture 50
V. Transhumant Livestock Herding 65
Winter Care and Summer Migrations 65
Organized Herding Arrangements 74
The Mountain Pastures 82
Time-Reckoning and Ecological Balance 91
The Gujurs 100
VI. Exchange 102
VII. Arts and Crafts 113
VIII. Oral Traditions, with a Section on Music by Thomas Alvad 120
1. Supernatural Events 122
2. Historical Events 124
3. Ancestors and Folk-Heroes 129
4. Conditions and Circumstances 132
5. Songs and Hymns 133
6. Genealogies 138
Die Musik Nuristans (by Thomas Alvad) 141
IX. The Forests and the Future 148
Itineraries 155
Bibliography – List of Source Materials 159
Index 169

PREFACE

This book probably contains numerous errors. But encountering errors often provides a useful stimulus for other scholars to publish their findings and to put forward their views. After all, apart from linguistic studies, scientific and humanistic studies in Nuristan have only just begun.

It is difficult to carry out research objectively; we have attitudes which can scarcely be avoided. We carry with us a background knowledge of, say, European agricultural practices and animal husbandry, or of different models of society, or simply of a moral code, which will influence our observations, or, in any case, our interpretation of what we observe. None of us are exceptions and therefore, when we were working on this book, a few lines from Professor Georg Buddruss were especially welcome and encouraging. He wrote: ". . . Alle unsere Arbeit . . . ist ja nur Stückwerk, alle haben wir nur Fragmente, und das Leben ist so kurz. Deshalb müssen wir uns gegenseitig helfen, wo wir können . . ."

Nuristani scholars have only recently begun to publish *their* knowledge of their own culture. It would be of great value if these Nuristani scholars could somehow keep clear of western concepts for a time—perhaps ten or twenty years—so that Nuristan, through them, could speak for itself. It seems to us that, for the present, there is no urgent need to describe life in Nuristan in comparison with life in other cultures. Life in Nuristan is sufficiently interesting and important in itself. But this life is changing day by day, and therefore we need basic descriptive studies now, village by village and valley by valley. If Nuristani scholars could report how things 'actually' are done in Nuristan and why, from a Nuristani point of view, they are done in a certain way, it might be more valuable in the long run than our putting Nuristan into some neatly labelled ethnological or sociological box.

From a practical point of view, this is perhaps impossible to achieve, but the attempt would no doubt improve our understanding of Nuristan to—we hope—the benefit of Nuristan, and therefore to the benefit of Afghanistan. Neither the minorities who live in Nuristan, nor the important forests of that part of Afghanistan should be disregarded. They are part of a whole.

The original purpose of this book, as conceived by us more than 15 years ago, was to make available a volume of photographs that had been selected to show as much as possible of the landscape, the villages, the technology, the modes of livelihood, and the people of Nuristan. As originally planned, it was to be just a volume of photographs with explanatory captions. The publisher in his wisdom, however, has asked us to provide many additional pages of text, maps, line drawings, and charts. The book has thus changed its character and has become a kind of source book, composed of those fragments to which Georg Buddruss referred. It has also afforded us the opportunity of bringing together information from several different fields of study.

Two things have not changed: our hope that the book will be of use to students everywhere of all ages and whatever interests; and the aim which we had from the outset, which was not so much to answer questions as to ask them.

L.E.–S.J.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals and institutions have helped in one way and another with the preparation of this book. First of all, we thank the Government of Afghanistan for granting permission over the years for our various expeditions to Nuristan. For invaluable help with different sections of the manuscript we thank Prof.Dr. Georg Buddruss of Mainz; for wise counsel as we tried to unravel the mysteries of Nuristani calendar systems and for placing at our disposal items from his excellent unpublished collection of Kati poetry we thank Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Lentz of Marburg; for help over many years in our struggles with the intricacies of Nuristani words we thank Prof. Georg Morgenstierne of Oslo; for providing notes, diagrams, and comments we thank Dr. S.-W. Breckle of Bonn; for providing examples of Kati poems we thank Prof. A.L. Gruenberg of Leningrad; for writing about the music of Nuristan we thank Thomas Alvad of Ribe; for the forest maps we thank Dr. D. Fischer of Kronberg; for pencil drawings we thank Prof. Kenneth F. Campbell of Eau Claire, Wisconsin; for pen and ink drawings we thank Babamorad Feraghi of Kabul; for ink and wash drawings we thank Aksel Sørensen of Ribe; for drawing and re-drawing the various charts and smaller maps we thank Jørgen Skaarup; for drawing the main map we thank Aage Andersen; for assistance with material on the birds and other fauna we thank Dr. K. Paludan of Hørsholm; for the diagram showing a vegetation profile of the Hindu Kush we thank Prof.Dr. C. Rathjens of Saarbrücken; for providing translations from the Russian we thank Dorte Stig Madsen of Ribe; for encouragement and for calling our attention to useful reports on botany and ecology we thank Prof.Dr. Mogens Køie of Copenhagen; for help with the geology of the Hindu Kush we thank Prof.Dr. Asger Berthelsen of Copenhagen; for suggestions regarding linguistic problems in the text we thank Knut Kristiansen of Oslo; for contributing valuable photographs for use in the book we thank Prof.Dr. Wolfgang Lentz of Marburg, Klaus Ferdinand of Moesgaard, Torkil and Greta Funder of Ribe, Ulf Timmermann, and Peter Rasmussen; we thank the Museum at Moesgaard, Denmark, for providing facilities and Maj. H.P.G. Unsworth and Peter Narracott of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, for endless trouble with the photographs. For travel assistance we thank the Carlsberg Foundation, the Rask-Ørsted Foundation, the Committee for Modern Middle Eastern Studies, Oxford, and, for help in defraying expenses incurred in the preparation of the manuscript we thank the Sydjysk Universitetscenter. Last, but by no means least, we are grateful to acknowledge the enthusiasm, interest, and practical endeavours of Dr. Karl Gratzl and Mr. Adolf Möller of the Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt who spared no effort to get things right.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nuristan is a land of high mountains and deep valleys on the Southern border of Central Asia in Afghanistan. It lies on the Southern slopes of the Hindu Kush Mountain range between 35° and 36° N.Lat. and between 70° and 72° E.Long. The total area—some 10,500 sq.km. in extent—is drained by four main river systems and is the home of between sixty thousand and ninety thousand people (see *Provisional Gazetteer of Afghanistan*, Afghan Demographic Studies, Kabul, 1975).

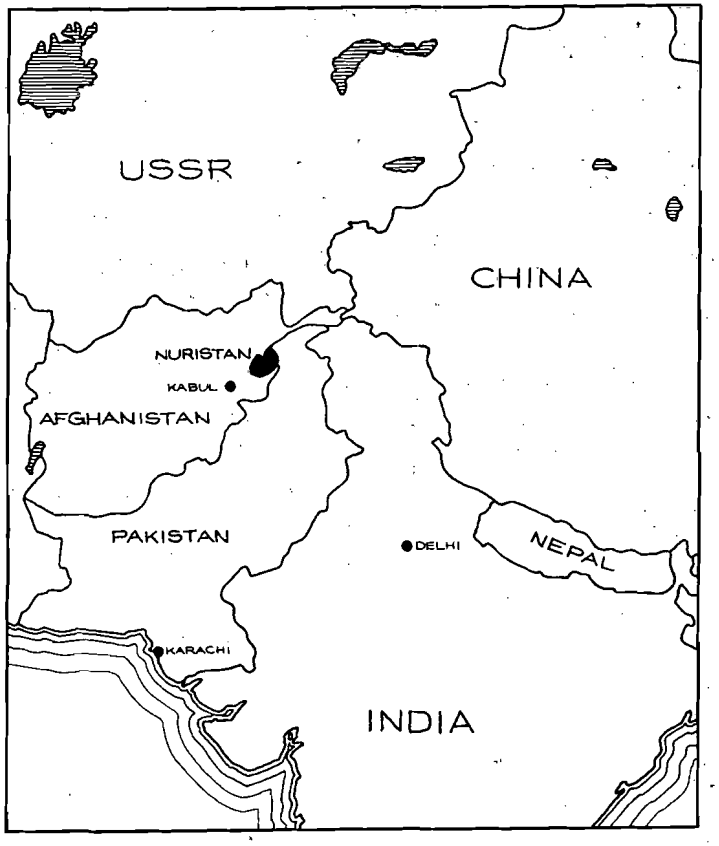


Fig. 1

Until the [redacted]ade of the 19th century this region was known as Kafiristan ('land of infidels') because the people were non-Muslim. Between 1895 and 1900 Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan, sent numerous military expeditions into Kafiristan, finally succeeded in conquering its inhabitants, and set about converting them to Islam. He then re-named the country *Nuristan* ('land of light'), as they had now seen the light of Islam.

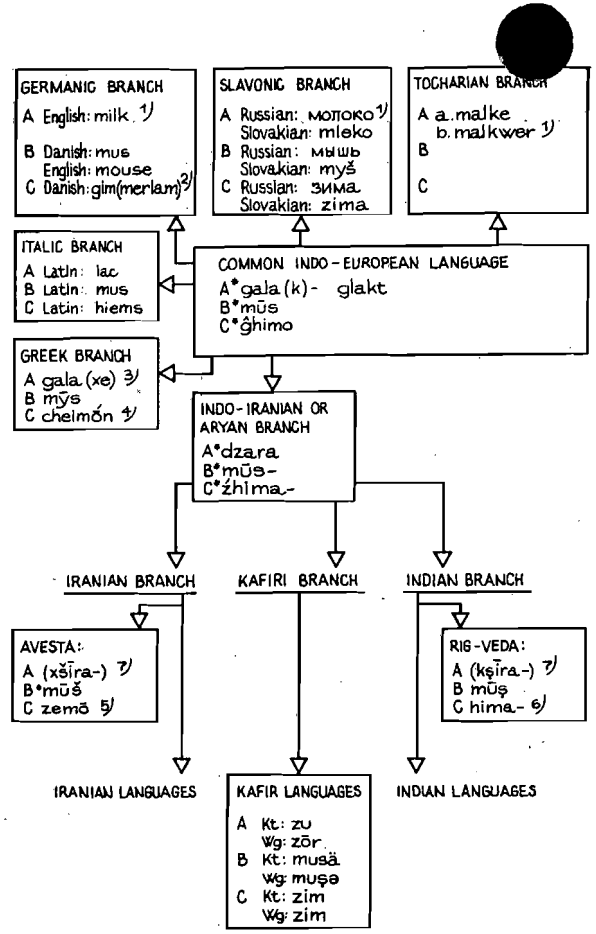
The early history of Nuristan is unrecorded. From time to time in the chronicles of some king or other we find a brief mention of the 'Kafirs', but nothing that provides a history. As far as we know, the earliest written records that attempt to describe events in pre-Muslim Nuristan are those of the British Government of India concerning the Afghan invasion. These for the most part are one-sided, incomplete, and second-hand. But they are the only documents we have concerning this very important period in the history of the Nuristani people (see Jones 1969).

For the earlier periods any one of three different approaches, or a combination of approaches, might throw light on the past: linguistics, archaeology, and oral traditions. Three scholars have carried out extensive research on the languages of Nuristan: Professor Georg Morgenstierne of Oslo, Professor Georg Buddruss of Mainz, and Dr. Gérard Fussman of Strasbourg.

On the basis of linguistic considerations, it seems reasonable to assume (along with Morgenstierne 1974, Buddruss 1973, Hamp 1968, and Fussman 1972) that the five 'Kafir' languages spoken in Nuristan: Kati (Kt), Prasun (Pr), Ashkun (Ash), Waigali (Wg), and Tregami (Tr), represent a third branch of the Aryan language, the other two being Indian and Iranian. This third branch is more closely related to Indian than it is to Iranian.

The layman may have difficulties in following a detailed discussion of the problems involved, but the chart that follows should help explain an approach to these problems. Certain words, among them (A) 'milk', (B) 'mouse', and (C) 'winter' (snow, cold), have almost certainly been in use over most of the region marked by Indo-European expansion since perhaps 2,000 B.C. From the special phonetic development of the 'Kafir' terms for these and some other key words, linguists have concluded that the ancestors of the Kafiri-speaking Nuristanis were part of an advance guard of Aryan expansion across the Hindu Kush. It has not yet been determined, however, if the 'Kafir' languages branched off shortly before or a little after the decisive linguistic division into Iranian and Indian. In the following chart we have attempted to make a schematic statement of the problems relating to the origin of the 'Kafir' languages (see Morgenstierne 1945: 235 and Buddruss 1977).

In the same connection it is interesting that the only known survival, in a modern language, of the Rigvedic meaning of *brahman* ('religious poem, with extraordinary magic powers') is the Prasun word *bem* (Buddruss 1973). It has also been shown that the Vedic word *śvātra*—among other things a synonym for soma—survives in the Kati *cəwō* and Prasun *ucapər*, 'rhubarb' (Morgenstierne 1954). Furthermore, it seems that there is a possible relationship between the four original castes of early Indian society (with the *śūdra* as the lowest stratum), and the social divisions of Nuristani society where the *bāri* form the lowest stratum (Jones 1967, Fussman 1977). If this is true, the population of Nuristan might be the descendants of Indians who never penetrated as far South and East as the Punjab or the valley of the Ganges. Thus it may be that the culture of Nuristan was neither influenced by the non-Aryan, original population of the Indian sub-continent, nor by the Brahmanic theology of the lowlands, but constituted from the very beginning a marginal area within the Indian world. Since the discovery of the ruins of an ancient Hindu temple at the confluence of the Pech and Kunar rivers near



1. Some modern scholars are of the opinion that the Germanic, Slavonic and Tocharian terms for 'milk' are of a different origin than the Italic, Greek, and Indo-Iranian terms. If this is correct, then the terms should have been put in brackets (see note 7).
2. *gimmerlam*, a lamb born in winter.
3. *galaxe*, the Milky Way.
4. *cheimṓn*, snow storm.
5. *zemō*, compare with Persian, *zimistan*, 'winter'.
6. *hima-*, compare with the Rig-Veda *Himavant*, and the modern *Himalaya*, 'the snow mountains'.
7. The Avesta and Rig–Veda terms for 'milk' cannot be traced back to Indo-European **gala(k)*.

* indicates constructed forms.

Abbreviations: Kt, Kati Language; Wg, Waigali Language.

Chaga Sarai (H[illegible] 1901, Lentz 1937, Edelberg 1957, van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1959) a certain Indian influence in Nuristan seems likely (see picture 89, showing capitals from a pillar in a kantar kōt in Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley).

With the conversion to Islam in 1895–1900 the way was opened for Iranian influence, which had hitherto been minimal and mainly hostile, although some very rare and ancient Iranian loan words existed in pre-Muslim Nuristan, such as *namoč*, 'prayer'.

In 327 B.C. Alexander travelled East along the Kabul Valley with his army and thus passed South of present-day Nuristan. He then sent part of his army on Eastwards over the Khyber Pass while he turned with a considerable force to march North-East up the Kunar Valley, thus passing just beyond the Eastern boundary of present-day Nuristan. This, together with the fact that the people of Nuristan have a culture that is different from that of their neighbours, gave rise in the 19th century to speculation that they might be descendants of Alexander's troops—a Greek enclave in Central Asia, still holding out against the tide of Islam. No one seems to have taken the idea very seriously even then, but it remains one of the most persistent rumours about the peoples of Nuristan.

The linguistic evidence alone, as summarized above, seems to conclusively rule out a Greek origin for the Nuristani people, but this does not necessarily mean that there has been no Greek cultural influence whatever. It is possible that the tripod tables found in Nuristan are a result of such influence. The Pashai word for these wrought iron tripods is *pini*. Does it perhaps come from the Greek πινάκιον, pinachion? (see fig. 56 and Morgenstierne 1956: 143).

There has yet to be any archaeological research in Nuristan and, clearly, excavations might provide valuable data. But the steep, narrow V-shaped valleys that characterize the relief of most of Nuristan do not provide favourable conditions for the preservation of archaeological materials. Wooden buildings built on steep slopes—a characteristic of most Nuristani villages—leave few traces behind once they are burned or abandoned.

The most promising areas for archaeological excavation are the upper Bashgal, i.e., from Bragamatal northwards, and the Parun Valley. The reason is that these valleys, owing to glaciation, are relatively broad U-shaped valleys and, as a consequence, some of the villages have been built on more or less level ground. The village of Pronz in Parun, for example, stands on a site that has been occupied for such a long time that the houses are actually embedded in an artificial mound. This mound has been gradually built up from debris deposited in the narrow lanes between the houses and is now so high that the first and second floor rooms of many houses are underground. Such archaeological work should only be undertaken by an expert on the material culture of the region.

The exact site of the great temple at Kushteki, described by Robertson as "the most sacred village in the whole of Kafiristan" (1896: 389), is known and, although destroyed recently (sometime between 1896 and 1900), would repay excavation. It would afford an opportunity to compare archaeological findings with a detailed first-hand account of what the building was used for and what it looked like.

Excavations in the Parun Valley may be of special interest for quite another reason: linguists have come round to the opinion that the Prasun language can only have acquired certain of its special characteristics inside the Parun Valley where it is spoken today (Morgenstierne 1949: 230). Many Nuristanis—among them the Paruni—consider that it is impossible for anyone to learn the Prasun language who has not grown up in the valley from childhood. We now have linguistic evidence which

shows that this idea is not as far-fetched as it sounds. By means of a rich system of prefixes th[illegible]ni can describe the direction of any movement and discuss the position of one object in relation to another—but only inside their own valley (Buddruss: *Lage und Richtung in der Prasun-Sprache des Afghanischen Hindukusch).* To the Paruni the cardinal points of the compass have no meaning, nor do the directions 'right' and 'left'. The Paruni have a term for 'left hand', but they cannot use 'left' as an indication of direction or position of one thing in relation to another. Instead, the Paruni make use of prefixes which give meaning to 'up the valley', 'down the valley' and two main terms for 'across the valley'. Since the Parun River runs mainly North-South, the two principal terms for 'across the valley' correspond approximately to our East-West directions (see p. 69 and p. 97).

Within the Kati area we know that the different terms for the various parts of the village of Kamdesh alter according to the position of the speaker (Strand 1974b: 60n), but in Parun the system for position and direction is so peculiar and complicated, and so dependent on an intimate knowledge of local surroundings, that it gives the Prasun language a very special position inside the Indo-European language family. If it is true that this system for locality and direction is very old and depends for its meaning on the Parun Valley itself, archaeological excavations in the valley might be important in that they may contribute to our knowledge of the very early movements of Indo-Aryan peoples.

In the upper Bashgal Valley there is at least one small mound marking the site of a building at the confluence of two rivers. Other examples and suggestions could be given, but perhaps these are sufficient to indicate the archaeological potential of certain areas in Nuristan.

Oral traditions are primarily of interest to the ethnologist, rather than the historian, as their content is usually considered to have more social than historical value. Sometimes, however, we find the same tradition current among peoples who have no contact with each other, and in such cases the probability that the story has some basis in fact seems to be increased. Let us give an example: When Halfdan Siiger was in Chitral in 1948 he recorded a tradition, current among the Kalash Kafirs, that they had at some much earlier time come from Waigal Valley, across the border in Nuristan. Eighteen years later in Waigal Valley we heard what seems to be the same story from the other side. We were told that the people of Waigal (who call themselves *Kalaša)* had migrated into the valley from settlements in the South, near present day Jalalabad, and that some of them had gone on to settle in Chitral. We do not suggest that this proves anything, but it does serve to indicate that the systematic recording of oral traditions in Nuristan is a task that might well be undertaken, if only because it will add another dimension to our understanding of these cultures.

As regards documentary sources contributing to a history of Nuristan these are, with one or two exceptions, no older than the 19th century in origin[1] and, as mentioned earlier, are largely concerned with the Afghan invasion (1896-1900). One possible source—as far as we know still untapped—of historical documents relating to Nuristan is the archives of the Government of Afghanistan. Again, however, these would presumably be almost wholly concerned with the 19th century Afghan invasion and would throw little, if any, light on earlier times.

We come back then to linguistic and other cultural evidence in the search to increase our understanding of these earlier periods. One recent example of this should not be overlooked. It is Gérard Fussman's *Pour une Problématique Nouvelle des Religions Indiennes Anciennes.*

1 A notable exception is the *Ṣifat-Nāma-yi Darvīš Muḥammad Ḫān-i Ġāzī* concerning a Muslim invasion attempt on Kafiristan in 1582 AD. For other sources see Raverty 1888.

To end th[illegible]n we offer a story that Wakil Abdullah of Keshtagrom was fond of telling: At one point before the Afghan invasion the Amir's Commander-in-Chief, Ghulam Haidar, invited the important men of various Kafir villages to meet him in Asmar and discuss the situation. When they had assembled, he ordered tea to be served to them. As is traditional among Afghans, sweet tea was given first, later to be followed by tea without sugar. When the sugarless tea was going round the Kafirs exchanged glances. Finally one of them addressed Ghulam Haidar, saying: "First you serve us sweet tea, then you serve us bitter tea. How are we to interpret this?"

II. THE COUNTRY

GEOMORPHOLOGY

Three early descriptions of Nuristan are known to us. They are quoted below (we have added the geographical names in brackets and italics).

1. For an account of Amir Timur's (1336–1405 A.D.) expedition into Kafiristan in 1398 we have the Zafar Nama of Sharaf-ud-Din, transcribed by Ali of Yezd and translated by H.G. Raverty (Raverty 1888: 136).
   From the preceding text it appears that Timur is approaching Kafiristan from the Panjshir Valley and the village of Parian.

"Notwithstanding the sun was in Gemini,[2] and the air warm, the snow was so deep that the horses' legs sank into it so that they could not get on. Timur therefore continued his advance up the mountain range in the night, at which time the snow froze, and, in the day time, when the snow began to thaw, halted, placing the few horses with the force on woollen clothes and felts to keep them from sinking into it, and again commenced to push on towards the close of the day. The troops continued to move onwards in this manner until they had ascended another mountain range exceedingly lofty. Here, those Amirs who had brought their horses along with them sent them back, and proceeded on foot, like their men.

As these infidels had taken up their quarters in the dara'hs,[3] and as, from the mountain range on which they then were, there was no road by which to descend and gain access to those places, on account of the depth of snow, a number of Amirs and troops of the right and left wings lowered themselves down from the mountains by means of ropes, while others, lying on their backs (with their shields for a protection) on the surface of the snow, slid down, until they conveyed themselves to the more level ground of the valley beneath.

They made a sort of wooden sledge for Amir Timur, to which iron rings were attached, and to which rings ropes were fastened, each about one hundred and fifty *gaz*[4] in length. In this Timur was seated, and a party of troops lowered him down in this sledge as far as the length of the ropes would permit, while a few men, with spades and mattocks, cleared away a space in the snow sufficient for the sledge to rest upon, until the party descended and began to lower it another length of the ropes. In this manner Amir Timur was conveyed to the foot of the mountain range, where, taking a staff in his hand, he proceeded onwards on foot, for about another league. An attempt was made to lower several horses of his own private stable for his use. Their legs were first firmly tied together, and strong ropes were fastened round their bodies and their necks, and they were then lowered. Some, that they could not keep their hold of, fell from the mountain and perished, but two horses reached the bottom in safety, and Amir Timur mounted again, while his Amirs and troops accompanied him on foot."

This account is the earliest known description of the Ramgal and Alingar Valleys of Western Nuristan.

2 At the time of Timur, mid-June. 3 Dara'h, a valley or pass between two mountains. 4 1 Gaz-i-Shahi = 1.06 m.

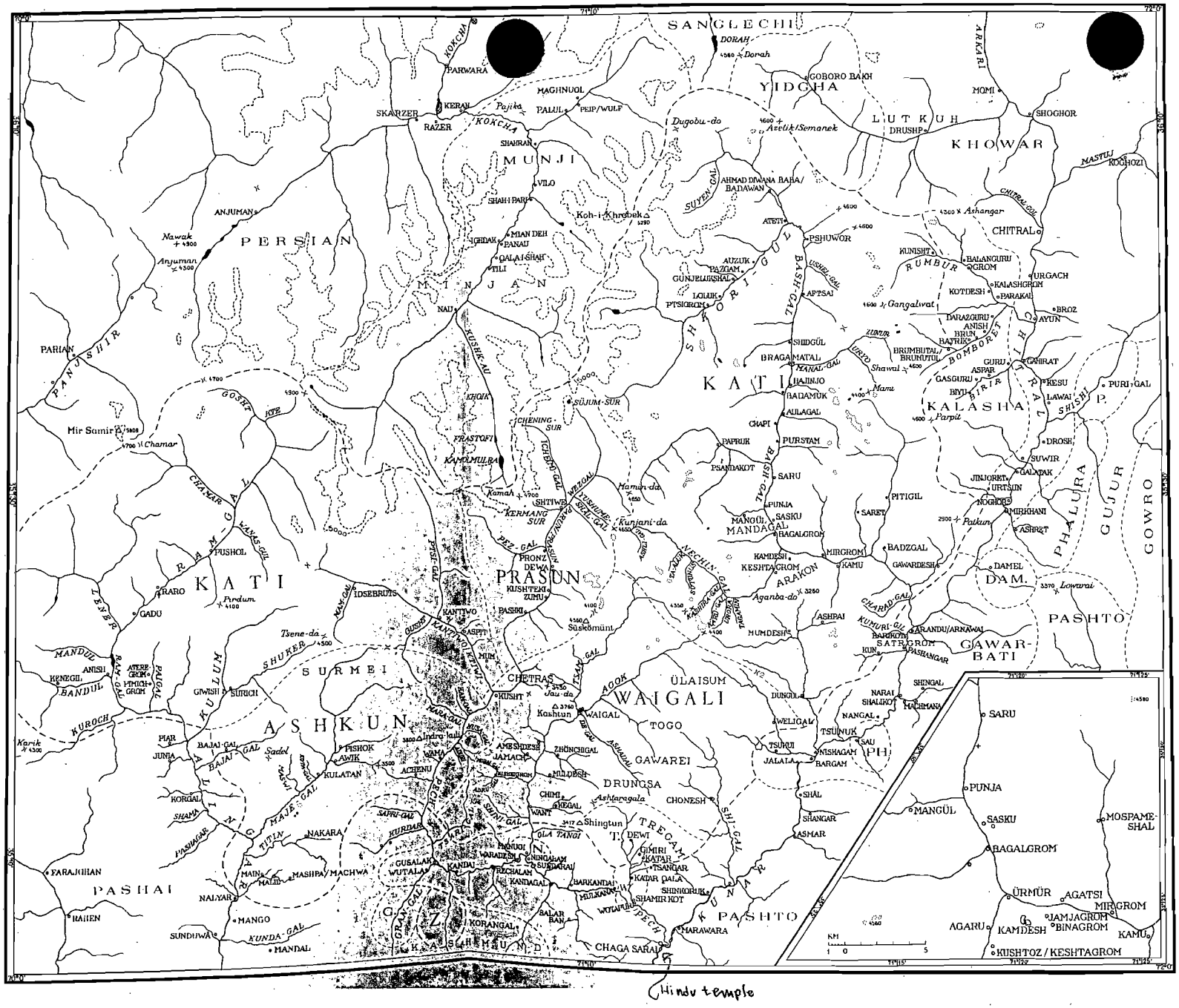
2. From [redacted]ge Scott Robertson, 1896: *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush*, pp. 63–65, mainly referring to the Bashgal Valley:

"All the Káfiristán rivers find their way into the Kabul river, either directly to the south, as in the case of the Alingár, or after mingling their waters with those of the Kunar river at Arandú and at Chighar Sarai [*Chaga Sarai*]. At Arandú the Bashgul river empties itself into the Kunar. The Bashgul draws its highest waters from three main sources, at the head of the valley of the same name. Of these three sources, the stream coming directly from the Mandál [*near Dugobu-do*] is only the second in volume. As it descends, it passes, near its source, through a lake of considerable size and a tarn, and then receives on either hand babbling rills, streams, and mountain torrents. Of these the first of any importance is the Skorigul [*Shkorigul*] water, which falls into the main stream just above the village of Pshui [*Pshuwor*]. The next is the Manangul, which empties itself into the Bashgul at Lutdeh or Bragamatál. The pleasant river then pursues its quiet course undisturbed by the riotous streams from the side valleys, and winds past Bádámuk, Oúlagul [*Aulagal*], and Purstám, gradually changing its character in its narrowing rocky bed, until at Sunra [*Saru*], on the confines of the Katir and Mádugál countries, it assumes many of the features of a cataract. It becomes a raging torrent in a dark narrow valley, where it dashes against the huge boulders which obstruct its course, and flings high its spray with deafening uproar. There, as in several other places where the tortured water foams and lashes itself against the rocks on its margin and in its bed, the river is beautiful beyond description. Tree trunks encumber the waterway, jam against the rocks, pile up in picturesque confusion, or hurry round and round in the swirl of many a backwater. It races past Bagalgrom and the great spur on which Kámdesh is built, receiving at the village of Urmir [*Úrmür*] the torrent from the Kungani [*Kunjani-da*] Pass and the drainage of the Nichingul [*Nechingal*] Valley. Below Kamu it is joined on its left bank by the Pittigul [*Pitigil*] river, which has its origin near the Manjám [*Mami*] Pass, by the Gourdesh [*Gaurdesh*] Valley stream, and by many others of all degrees of importance below those particularly named, and ends, as before stated, in the Kunar river at Arandú.

The Presun [*Parun/Prasun*] river is formed by the Wezgul drainage, which includes that of the pass leading to the Skorigul, that of the Mámi [*Mamin-da*] Pass, which leads to the Baprok [*Papruk*] Valley, and that of the Uzhamezhalgul [*Yushumeshalgal*], up which is the road to the Kungani Pass. Just below the Uzhamezhalgul it is joined on the right bank by a considerable stream from the Shidgul [*Ichemgal*], up which valley there is no road, the stream rising in a *cul-de-sac* of lofty, unscalable hills. At the village of Shtevgrom [*Shtiwe*] the Presun river is joined by the mountain stream from the Kamah Pass, and flows placidly down the valley through meadow-land set aside for the service of Imrá, and past all the other Presun villages. After passing the last, Pushkigrom [*Pashki*], it makes an abrupt turn, which was the limit of my journey. . ."

3. From N.I. Vavilov and D.D. Bukinich, 1929, *Agricultural Afghanistan*, pp. 540–542. Here the famous Russian geneticist describes his 'Journey through Kafiristan', i.e., from the Kamah (Weran) Pass down through the central Parun-Pech Valley to Gusalak, the uppermost Safi village in the lower, Pushtu-speaking part of the Pech Valley (19th to 23rd October, 1924):

"The expedition set out from Tli [*Tili, in Minjan*], crossed the pass Parun over the Hindu-Kush and entered Kafiristan. The summit of the pass is at 4760 m . . . Especially difficult was the descent into



LUTKUH, region
mountain pasture
Dorah , pass
BASH-GAL, river
DORAH , lake
△ or ⛰, Kashtun, summit
3760 ,3760 metres above sealevel
○ CHITRAL, town
• WAIGAL , village/hamlet
; tower/ruin
⊗ mines of Lapis Lazuli
× steatite quarry near KANTIWO
† sang-i-navishta
+ rock marking

KILOMETRES
5 0 5 10 15 20 25

NURISTAN (1978)

Hindu temple

With regard to place names, we have tried to use the local designation wherever a strong tradition in favour of some other term has not developed. We have also tried to a large extent to keep the names given by Robertson in his book *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush* (1896) whenever it seemed reasonable to do so. But what is reasonable? There seem to be several terms for each place name in Nuristan. For example:

1. The local term:		Wasi	Shupu	Säich	Ütsü	Üshüt	*Zumu*	Ushit	Kambrom	
Pronunciation:			Ṣup'ū	Säič, Sēč	Üc'ū	Üš'üt	Zum'ū	Uṣit	Kombƒom	Sāṇū, Sāṛu
2. Persian or Pashto term:		*Parun*	*Shtiwe*	*Pronz*	*Dewa*	*Kushteki*		*Pashki*	Kamdesh	*Wama*
3. Kati term (as an old *lingua franca* in Nuristan)		*Prasun*	Ištaw'ī	Pānzo'ī Por'onz	Dlw'a	Kštak'ī	T'ūcəm	Paṣk'ī	Kombƒom	
4. Terms used by Neighbouring People	A. Ashkun (Wama)	Pfaū						Paṣa		
	B. Minjani	Veron						Vanigha		
5. Robertson:		Presun	Shtevgrom	Pontzgrom	Deogrom	Stiggigrom	Satsumgrom	Pushkigrom	Kamdesh	Tsaro

Among the examples given above the place names that are in italics are those that have been used on the map. But the examples are a-typical as in by far the majority of cases we have used the local term. In that respect we have even gone so far as to write *Gimiri* on the map, because the practice for saying *Gambir* is recent. One might ask why then, do we write *Wama*? The reason is that even linguists do not agree about the pronunciation of the local name (Morgenstierne 1951: 117 *Sāṇ'ū*; Strand 1973: 300 *Sāṛu*). Still, we can be criticised each time we have used a non-local name. The problem is not as easy to avoid as might be imagined. It has something to do with the fact that in English we write *Rome* instead of *Roma*, and *Copenhagen* instead of *København*. The existing tradition for using a non-local term was too strong to ignore.

The next problem is more difficult: how should the place names be transcribed? Our original idea was to use *-gal* ('valley') for *-gal, -ghil, -gil, -gol, -gul,* and *-gül* and let everyone pronounce it according to whatever language was being used. But we gave up this plan, and have probably landed in a ditch of inconsistency.

Wherever the word *-grom* ('village') was part of a village name, we wanted to preserve it, even if it was not used in daily speech: *Keshtagrom*, for example, instead of *Kshtorm*. The villagers say *Keshtagrom* when they speak slowly. Again we could give the example of Copenhagen: when pronouncing it slowly the Danes say *København*, but in daily speech they say *Gbnavn*.

Sometimes we have put a name on the map even though we had a vague feeling that another one would have been more in accordance with local practice: *Jamach* (instead of *Jemamesh*), *Chapi* (instead of *Chapu*). Probably the difficulty in the first example is to be able to distinguish between the name of the physical locality and the term used to designate the people who live there.

Some day the geographical names of Nuristan will be standardized in some way. We hope that our efforts to preserve the local names will bear some fruit and that we have not instead contributed to the existing confusion.

As Robertson's book will probably always be *the* book about the country, it will always be of interest to be able to identify the geographical names used by him. For this purpose one can refer to the *Key to Place Names* in Edelberg & Gramstrup 1971: 57.

For an attempt to be more consistent in using the local geographical names, see Strand 1973.

The boundaries of the linguistic areas, shown in red, are drawn according to Morgenstierne (1974). Dialects are not shown. (For dialects, see Strand 1973).

In recent years linguistic maps have been published by Gruenberg (1971a) and Strand (1973).

Kafiristan. Beyond Parun, at a height of 2950–3000 m. the first settlements of the Kafirs, [illegible]eal Kafiristan, came in view.

The Kafir villages strike the traveller by their neatness, their well cultivated fields. Near the houses are observed planted trees, laid out paths, and carefully conducted water by which the ancientness of sedentary culture is felt. The crops are sown in small plots of 25–50 sq. meters. Every foot of land is utilized. The fields are surrounded by fences. Only women and old men are seen to work in the fields. The women go unveiled. Many water mills may be observed. The crops are the same, as to the North of Parun; liguleless wheat *(Triticum vulgare eligulatum* Vav.) was equally found.

The language sharply differs in its roots. In the Russian text the comparison of the languages of the Tajiks, Afghans and Kafirs (Kafir dialects) is given.

From Parun (village Pronz) the expedition pushed on to village Vama [*Wama*], to the South past village Pashki which in 1890 was reached by Sir George Robertson. The route gradually enters the forest zone. Coniferous forests become visible. The houses are built of wood, with stones only in the foundation.

The population is of Aryan type; svelt women in grey blouses, black shawls . . . The clothes are mostly homespun wool.

Beyond Pashki (about 2750 m.) begins the typical forest zone. This is the realm of coniferous trees, the cedar *(Cedrus Deodara* Loud.) the pine *(Pinus excelsa* Wall., *P. Gerardiana* Wall.); from time to time deciduous trees *(Juglans, Crataegus, Acer, Quercus Baloot* Griff.) are met with. The paths lead through the thicket of coniferous forests. No human soul is met on the way. The way is difficult, leading often along steep river banks. The pack-horses slip, break the packs, cut their feet. The villages lead an isolated life.

Below 2500 m. begins the zone of deciduous forests. From Pashki to Vama the way is especially difficult: the horses fall, get into the crevices of the rocks; the caravan advances at a despairingly slow rate. Every hour accidents take place. A horse hangs over a precipice, or has got into a crevice, or the packs roll down the steep bank towards the river. All thoughts are given to the safety of horses.

At the height of 2050–1900 m. the pine entirely disappears and is replaced by continuous oak forests *(Quercus Baloot* Griffith).

Vama is a kishlak (village) situated at a height of 300–400 m. above the road with its houses suggesting nests of birds. Wooden buildings of many storeys surrounded by oak forests are visible. The kishlak is literally situated at the height of a bird's flight and is inaccessible for a caravan. The crops are sown in plots of 10–28 square meters. In order to reach the village one has to walk about three kilometers. In Vama a new language is spoken which the guides from Pronz do not understand. The village consists of not less than 100 buildings arranged in 9–10 layers, one above the other. The foundations of the buildings are of stone; the upper part and the walls are of stone with wooden layers. In some places carved-work is perceptible–tendency to adorn one's home. The people proved amiable.

The number of crop plants is limited: wheat, *Sorghum,* barley, peas. The population gathers cedar nuts, wild growing pomegranates, *Zizyphus vulgaris* Lam. The live stock are chiefly goats.

From Vama the route is to Hussalik [*Gusalak*]. This is the most difficult part of the journey, the road being passable only for pedestrians and goats. Every half hour the traveller has to devise schemes for the passage as if somebody, on purpose, had placed obstacles in the way, precipices,

stones, steps ov[illegible]ter high, etc. The bridges are partly destroyed and have to be rebuilt—trees, stones must be carried for the purpose. The guides refuse to conduct the caravan. At 20 klm. to the South of Vama, Hussalik is situated, at an elevation of 1360 m. Two, three kilometers before Hussalik is reached, the guides desert the caravan and run quickly back to Vama."

This wild landscape in the central Hindu Kush—together with the Himalayas—has been subjected to orogenic movements in Tertiary and Quaternary times. Uplift is continuing at the present day and earthquakes are, therefore, a common phenomenon. They are locally called *indriṣṭ* (Morgenstierne 1951: 163). Along the southern ranges of the Hindu Kush ophiolites are found, indicating upfolded deep sea volcanics and sediments originating from the bottom of a now vanished ocean. This line of ophiolites demarcates—from a geological point of view—the northern border of the Indian sub-continent. In Afghanistan, areas with ophiolites have not been found North of the Kabul River, and thus not in Nuristan itself, which, geologically speaking, belongs to Central Asia.

Those sections of the Ramgal-Kuluni-Majegal and the Bashgal Valleys which are V-shaped have been eroded down through granites. These granites and Precambrian gneisses are the most common rock materials in most parts of the Hindu Kush and Nuristan. The Pech Valley from the junction of the Ktiwi and Parun Rivers to Gusalak, and probably some lower parts of the Tsamgal, have been cut down through Palaeozoic phyllites of a silky gloss appearance, containing numerous garnets.

The large central area of Nuristan, drained by the rivers of Papruk, Nechingal, Dungul, Agok-Tsamgal-Waigal, Ichemgal-Wezgal-Parun, and Ktiwi is constituted of Precambrian gneisses, greenschists, and micaschists; the latter, like the above-mentioned phyllites, characterized by the large number of red garnets, ranging from pinhead to fist size. Medium sized garnets were, up until recently, used as musket balls by local warriors and hunters in their old muzzle-loaders. In Ktiwi, and probably elsewhere, there are layers of steatite which are quarried and used by craftsmen for the making of cooking vessels.

Slates constitute an important material for the building of mountain shelters—locally called *šāl*—for men and animals above the timber line where the Nuristani graze their herds and flocks in summer. Smaller slates are used for walls and in the construction of shelves where cheese is put aside for maturation. Bigger slates are used for roofing, though only for these mountain shelters.

In the lower Waigal marble is abundant. One may walk for hours along the edges of terraced fields and water channels, the walls of which have been built of white marble blocks.

On this pre-Quaternary surface the last ice age has done its work. The upper parts of the Bashgal, the Nechingal, the Parun, the Ktiwi, and the Ramgal Valleys above 2,500 m are U-shaped as a result of glacial action. A number of terminal moraines have been laid down across these valleys, e.g. in Ramgal (Thesiger 1957: 459) and in Parun from Kushteki North to Shtiwe. The rivers have cut deep clefts through these moraines, which probably belong to the Würm-glaciation, but so far no glaciomorphological observations have been made there. In this part of the Hindu Kush numerous tributary valleys join the main valley as typical U-shaped hanging valleys, that is, the floor of the tributary valley is high above the floor of the main valley so that a waterfall results. This is because the larger glacier that formed the main valley eroded it down to a much deeper level than was possible for the smaller glacier in its tributary valley (see figure 2).

The exposed surface of the granites, gneisses, micaschists, greenshists, and phyllites is friable due to weathering and this, together with the materials left by melting ice, has made soil formation possible.

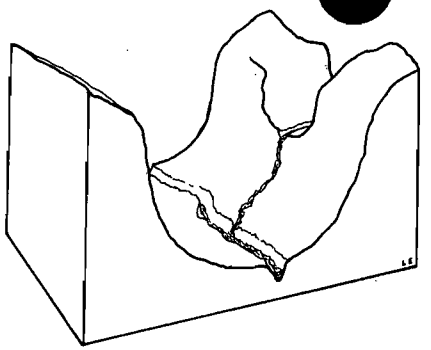


Fig. 2

In areas of extensive forest humus is formed and accumulates. During periods of heavy rain—and the Waigal area appears to be particularly prone to flooding—the soil is in danger of being washed away. Abdullah Wakil of Keshtagrom (died 1971) once showed us that the Kunar River below Chaga Sarai transports pea-sized pieces of peat-like humus which he said had come down from Waigal Valley.

The main watershed is a crest of lofty peaks, some of which are over 6,000 metres in height. Among these peaks there are glacial cirques and areas of perpetual snow where glaciers of considerable size originate. The snow-line is relatively low, compared with the Northern slopes of the Hindu Kush; about 5,200 m in S.E. exposed areas, and about 5,100 m in S.W. exposed areas. This might be due to the density and persistence of the cloud cover (see Breckle and Frey 1976: 99).

The lowest passes between Minjan and Nuristan are about 4,700 m., and all passes between Ktiwi and Ramgal and between Parun and Bashgal are but little less than that.

CLIMATE

The modern traveller approaching Kabul by air toward midday in Summer from the Southwest, and having flown over arid, dusty, and cloudless Afghanistan, will, if he glances to the North-East before landing, have an impressive view of enormous towering clouds covering the main range of the Hindu Kush. This view—in sharp contrast to what has been seen during the flight—indicates an important climatic characteristic of Nuristan: it benefits from the Indian summer monsoon.

Winter

No meteorological stations have yet been established in Nuristan. Continuous information regarding climatic conditions during a whole year is therefore not available.

Most villages in Nuristan lie between 1,500—2,500 m above sea level and for these villages it can be said that the January temperatures seldom drop below minus 10° C. (the summer maximum in July—August is rarely over 30° C.).

The following table of meteorological observations is a very limited extract from Sir George Scott

Robertson's se[illegible]port (Robertson 1894) as given in the Gazetteer of Afghanistan (1910: 240). For the study of climatic fluctuations in the area Robertson's data may be of special value.

Date.	Place.	Temperature.			REMARKS.
		7 A.M.	2 P.M.	9 P.M.	
1891					
1st January	Charadgul	...	48°	31°	The Charadgul joins the
7th January	"	...	34°	43°	Bashgul 4 miles above
9th January	Birkot	...	...	43°	the latter's mouth.
17th January	Kamdesh	32°	38°	28°	
19th January	"	17°	27°	24°	
29th January	"	18°	32°	21°	
1th February	Agatsi	35°	35°	34°	
9th February	"	17°	34°	25°	
28th February	Kamdesh	34°	36°	31,5°	
1st March	"	35°	47°	36°	
31st March	"	50°	69°	45,5°	
18th April	Birkot	54°	81°	61,5°	
30th April	Kamdesh	54°	69°	54°	
15th May	"	61°	76,5°	...	
31st May	Badawan	45°	65°	45°	
15th June	Bragamatal	54°	66°	56°	Camp. 11,300 feet.
30th June	Kamdesh	66°	83°	67°	
15th July	"	76°	88°	62°	
5th September	"	59°	84°	71°	After thunder.
30th September	Diogrom	39°	64°	50,5°	
2nd October	Satsumgrom	41°	47°	41°	
9th October	Shtevgrom	31°	49°	...	
21st October	Kamdesh	48°	52°	45°	

In *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush* (1896: 71) Robertson writes, "During the winter of 1890–91 at Kamdesh (elevation 6,100 feet), there was an excessive amount of snow, but the thermometer never showed a lower temperature than 17° F. . ." This corresponds to minus 8.3° C., a mild temperature that agrees with our own experiences in Keshtagrom-Kamdesh during January–February 1949, in Titin-Nakara in December–January 1960–61, and Waigal Valley in February 1967 and February 1968.

In villages lying at an elevation between 1,500 and 2,500 m. the absence of wind, as noted by Robertson, is quite remarkable. Because of this, low temperatures can be experienced without discomfort. The main precipitation probably falls in winter and mainly as snow. If snow is abundant the Nuristani traveller will bind withes round his footwear to avoid slipping.

The continual change between frost and thaw keeps the villagers busy removing snow from their rooftops at the end of every heavy snow storm.

In the upper valleys such as Parun and Shkorigul it gets bitterly cold after the winter solstice, and the Paruni not only put on boots, but two woollen cloaks, a short and a long one. In 1890 a little deputation of Paruni went to Robertson with a request that illustrates the severity of their winters: they begged him to ask the Creator to make their country a little warmer (Robertson 1896: 71). In the middle and end of January (the month *wādsuk)*, avalanches are numerous in Parun Valley and the trails from village to village are frequently blocked. These avalanches follow certain courses down through the forests of the mountainsides of Parun, and also of Nechingal, Tsamgal, and other high valleys, and may even block the rivers (see picture 56). When this happens below Dewa, which lies at the river side, the villagers must get out and remove the snow to allow the river to pass on its usual way, otherwise the winter stables will be flooded.

For two or three months each year the water mills are icebound so the women must grind grain with rotary querns indoors.

Düröshwa, the uppermost, and now deserted, village in Parun (Buddruss, private communication), is said to have been abandoned for climatic reasons. The winter snowfall was very great and the thaw started late in Spring, so that the growing season was too short to support the population (Edelberg 1972: 41). This might be an indication of recent climatic changes in the Hindu Kush.

Spring

In the narrow V-shaped valleys Spring comes suddenly, like a wave, in the middle of April. Between morning and evening the walnut trees turn a beautiful green and the jujube trees quickly follow in turn. During this season the Pech River rises as much as one-third of a metre every day and the sound of avalanches echoes like thunder between the mountains. In between sunny days it may rain considerably.

On March 30th, 1948 our very first camp in Nuristan was pitched on a small terrace at the foot of the mountainside 300 m below Wama. We enjoyed the site, although we had to speak very loudly to make ourselves heard above the roar of the river. Next day a group of men from the village arrived and tried to persuade us to move our tents. They were afraid of rock falls from the mountainside if a rain storm should occur. We were unwilling to do as they asked, presuming that they exaggerated the danger. But, in the end, we did move our camp. On April 19th there was a heavy thunder storm with hail while we were out collecting plants. When returning in the afternoon we found the village women standing in groups at the big bridge. They did not dare to walk up to the village, and all work had stopped, as the fields were too sodden to be cultivated with the traction fork. Then the mountainside started to move. Huge boulders came bounding down from ledge to ledge like tennis balls, finally disappearing in the river with an enormous splash. Goats and kids ran for their lives when the stones and boulders began to move round them. When we saw our first camping place hit by a big boulder we were grateful for the kind advice we had received.

Clear days alternate with days of rain; 20 mm per day is not unusual. On clear days the relative humidity may drop from 90% to 30% and then, the following day, go down to less than 15% (see fig. 3).

Such days must not be wasted. In the morning before first light small groups of women call to each other as they run down the steep path from the village of Wama to the imposing bridge over the

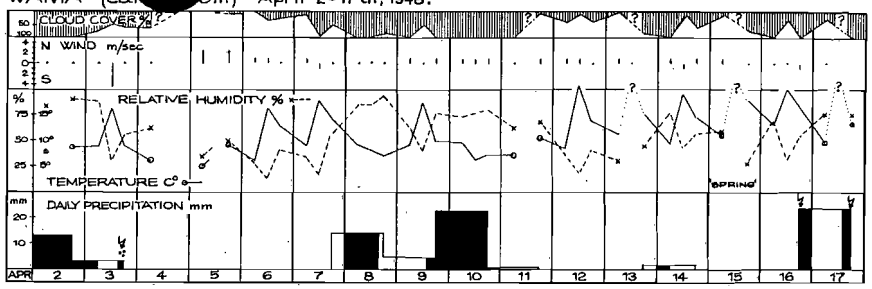

WAMA (ca m) April 2-17th, 1948.
CLOUD COVER %
N WIND m/sec
S
RELATIVE HUMIDITY %
TEMPERATURE C°
DAILY PRECIPITATION mm
'SPRING'
APR 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

Fig. 3:
METEOROLOGICAL DATA: April 2–17th, 1948. Observations taken at 6 a.m., 12 noon, and 6 p.m. Rain gauge emptied each day at 6 p.m. Rainfall indicated on chart by areas in black. ⚡ indicates thunder, • indicates hail. Temperature and relative humidity measured by whirling hygrometer. Wind velocity and cloud cover estimated. Air movement is normally along the valley, either upwards (S) or downwards (N). 'Spring', April 15th, was subjectively felt to be the first day of Spring; all the trees turned green.
? and absence of lines indicates that no observations were recorded in camp.

Pech River. They carry conical baskets filled with manure on their backs. On top of each load a little child sits, or perhaps four or five bleating kids which are to be carried up to some pens in the mountains. In their hands the women carry long staves of olive wood to aid in keeping balance when jumping from stone to stone, "punting and scurrying along" (Levi 1972: 199), and a fork and hoe to till the soil of the terraces.

In Parun, Ktiwi, and probably in Shkorigul too, Spring arrives round the first of May—the month in which many important agricultural activities are carried out.

Summer

May and June are characterized by relatively few rainy days, but sometimes in July rain comes every day or two in scattered showers—the influence of the summer monsoon. Of this influence Rathjens has written: "Bemerkenswerterweise überschreiten in Nuristan . . . tropische Niederschläge 35° Nord und erreichen damit die äquatorfernste Lage auf der ganzen Erde" (1974: 297). About 5% of the annual precipitation in Nuristan falls in the period from July to September (Flohn 1969: 208). This does not sound like much, but nevertheless the summer precipitation in connection with the summer cloud cover (Rathjens 1974: 299 and above) is the basis for the existence of forests in Nuristan.

According to C. Rathjens the summer monsoon comes to the Hindu Kush as a relatively thin horizontal layer of air and it is unlikely that its influence reaches as high as the main crest of the range. Rathjens writes: "Der Monsun scheint jedoch eine relativ flache Luftströmung zu sein, und es ist unwahrscheinlich, daß sein Einfluss in Nuristan und Chitral bis an den Hauptkamm des Hindukusch heranreicht. Darauf deutet auch die Tatsache hin, daß die inneren Täler in Chitral, Nuristan und im afghanischen Kohistan mit der Annäherung an den Hauptkamm in Vegetationscharakter zunehmend trockener werden" (1972b, 207) and "Als flache Luftströmung von nur 3–4 km Höhe überschreitet der Monsun offenbar nirgends den Hindukusch-Hauptkamm, . . . und reicht in Nuristan nicht einmal

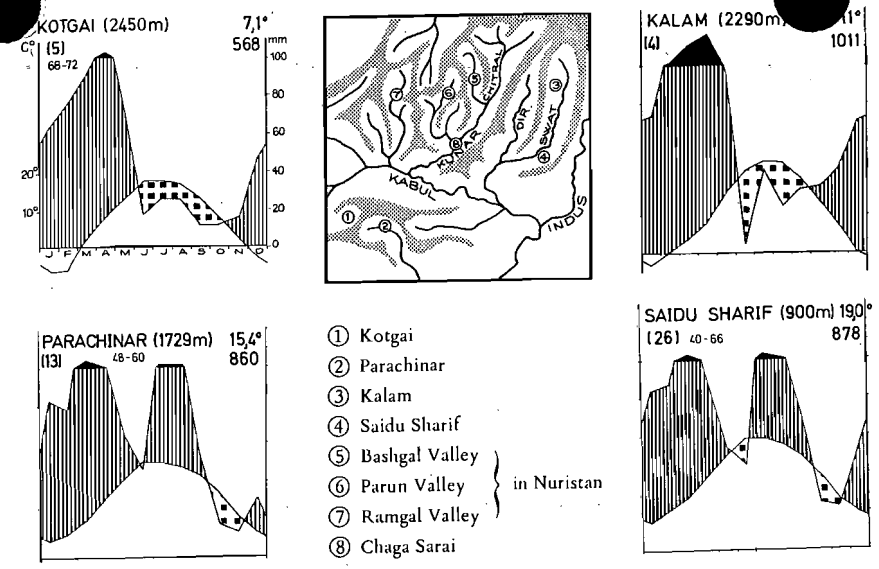


Fig. 4:
Map of Nuristan and surrounding areas
Places on the map marked 1–4 indicate sites of meteorological stations where observations have been taken from 4–26 years. No. 1 is Kotgai; 2 is Parachinar, both sites South of the Safed Koh; No. 3 is Kalam in N. Swat; and No. 4 is Saidu Sharif at the mouth of the Swat Valley. By interpolating data from these stations we are able to get an idea of meteorological conditions in Nuristan.

No. 5 on the map marks the Bashgal Valley; No. 6, the Parun Valley, and No. 7 the Ramgal Valley—all of which are near the main crest of the Hindu Kush and are probably, like Kalam and Kotgai, farthest from the influence of the summer monsoon. No. 8, Chaga Sarai, in the Kunar Valley, is probably much more under the influence of the Summer monsoon, as are Saidu Sharif and Parachinar.

Explanation of Meteorological Diagrams
The months from January to December are represented across the bottom of each diagram. Each interval marked up the left vertical represents 10° C., while the intervals up the right vertical represent 20 mm of precipitation. The name of each weather station is given at the upper left, followed by its altitude in metres. The number in brackets under the name of each station shows the number of years of continuous meteorological observations. At the upper right is given the mean annual temperature in degrees centigrade. Under that is the mean annual sum-total of precipitation in mm. Precipitations above 100 mm are printed in scale 1:10 and marked in black. Diagrams courtesy S.–W. Breckle.

in die tiefsten Talhintergründe, wie der dortige Verlauf der Waldgrenze ausweist" (Rathjens 1972b and 1974: 298. See fig. 9).

This is probably the case. In Pashki on the 27th of July, 1948 it was nearly possible to read at night on account of the constant lightning from cloudy skies over the Waigal Valley where so much rain fell that the big bridge at Ningalam was wrecked, though scarcely any rain fell in Parun. On the other hand, perhaps no village in Eastern Nuristan has greater drought problems than Want, lying in the

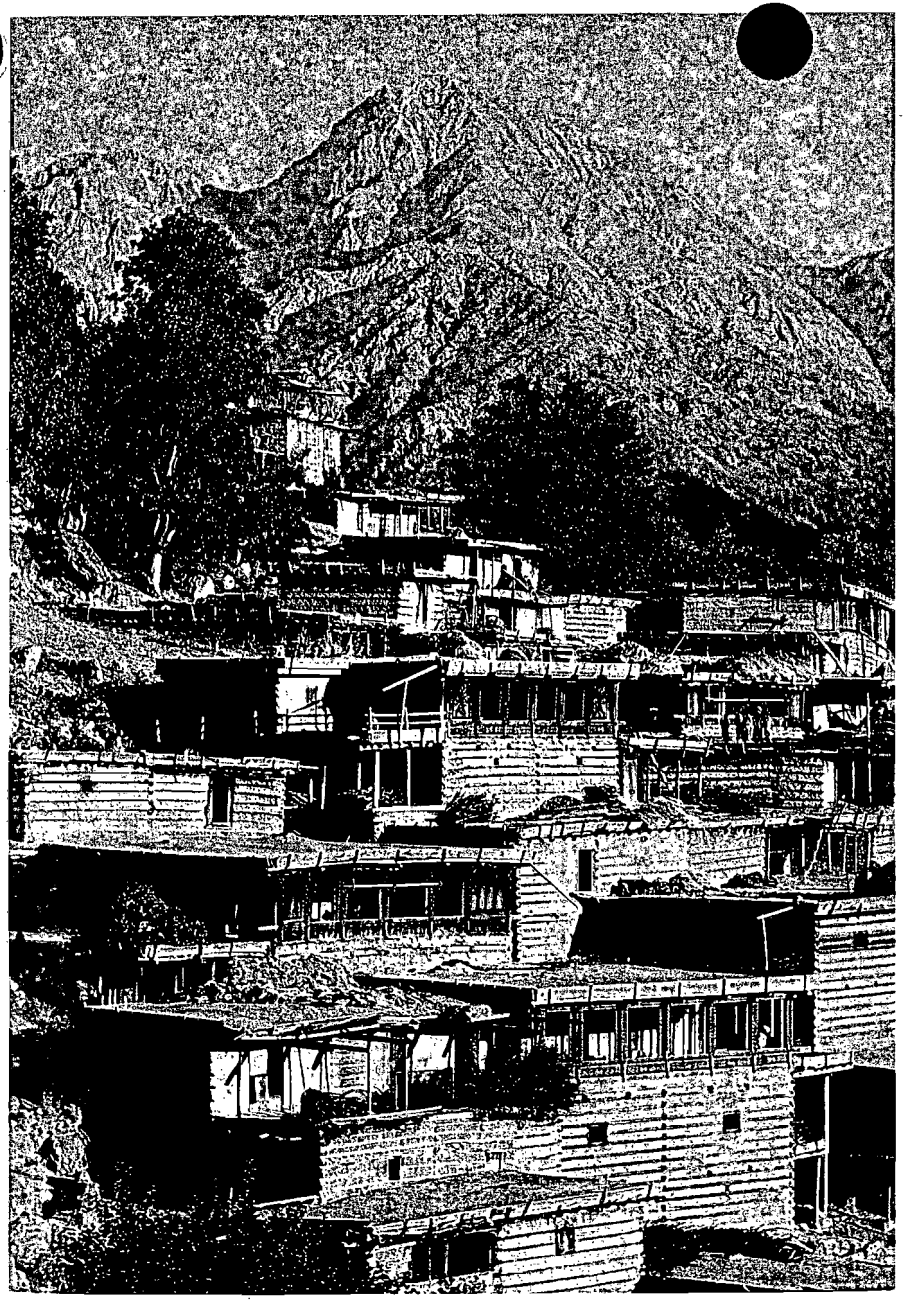
lowest part of [redacted] forest zone near the confluence of the Waigal and Pech Rivers. This is probably due to the fact that the skies there are less cloudy than those in the upper part of the valley and the insolation, temperature, and rate of evaporation are therefore much greater. In 1970 we left Zhönchigal on the 20th of July because our camp had been flooded during a cloudburst the previous afternoon. Upon arrival in Want that evening we met groups of women standing shouting at each other. Asking the reason, we were told, "They quarrel about water. They need water [for their crops]."

In the upper part of Suyengal, one of the Northern-most tributaries of the Bashgal River and far above the timber line, S.-W. Breckle has collected useful climatic and microclimatic data for the late summer—the last days of August and the first days of September, 1969 (see fig. 34). His measurements were taken at an altitude of 4,350 m—about 400 m higher than the uppermost seater (shepherd camps, *šāl)* in Suyengal, and 600 m higher than those in the Parun and Nechingal areas. At these altitudes the influence of the Indian summer monsoon is negligible. The high light intensity causes wide ranges of daily temperatures. On the 31st of August the temperature went from about zero degrees C, just before sunrise to nearly 13° C. shortly after midday. By noon the sky is often cloudy, but the clouds diminish towards evening.

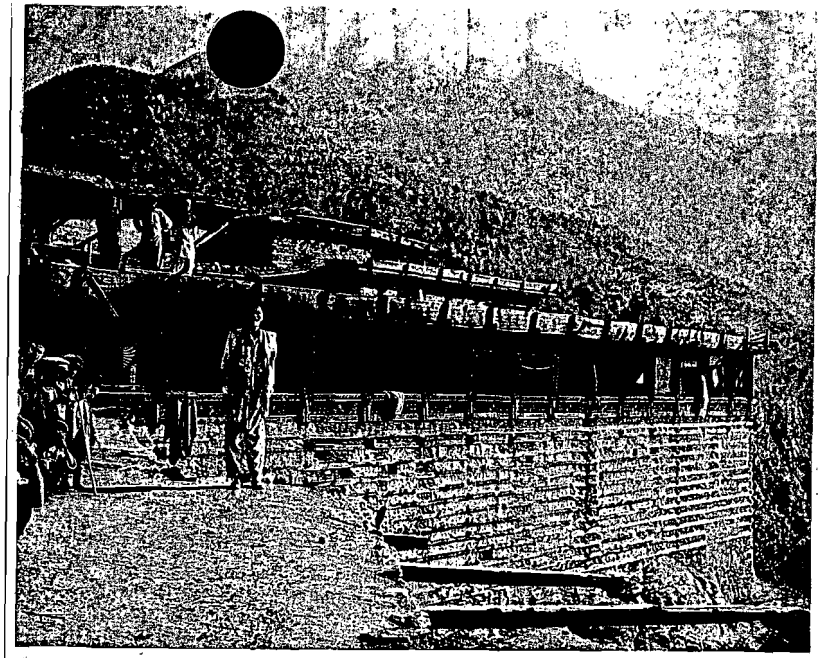
An indication of the strong and long-lasting radiation—this time above the forest zone—is the phenomenon known as penitentes (Sp. *nieve de los penitentes;* Ger. Büßerschnee). This was first noted by the Gilgit-Chitral Mission of 1885–86 in The Azetik Pass (". . . the snowfield broke into frozen waves shaped exactly like folded table-napkins, the counterpart, on a large scale, of the phenomena on the Dúráh [Dorah]. The waves on the Zidik [Azetik] stood from two to three feet high, and their sharp edges made them a difficult obstacle to surmount."—p. 316, Lockhart, W.S.A. and R.G. Woodthorpe, 1889) and then by the Deutsche Hindukusch Expedition (1937: Abb. 8) and later on Mt. Mir Samir by Newby (1958: 169). It is caused mainly by the direct evaporation of water from the ice surface and produces spears or blades of ice, which may be 1–2 m long, and are inclined towards the South. This phenomenon deserves investigation as an important climatic indicator that may contribute to our understanding of other climatic circumstances (Rathjens 1972: 208).

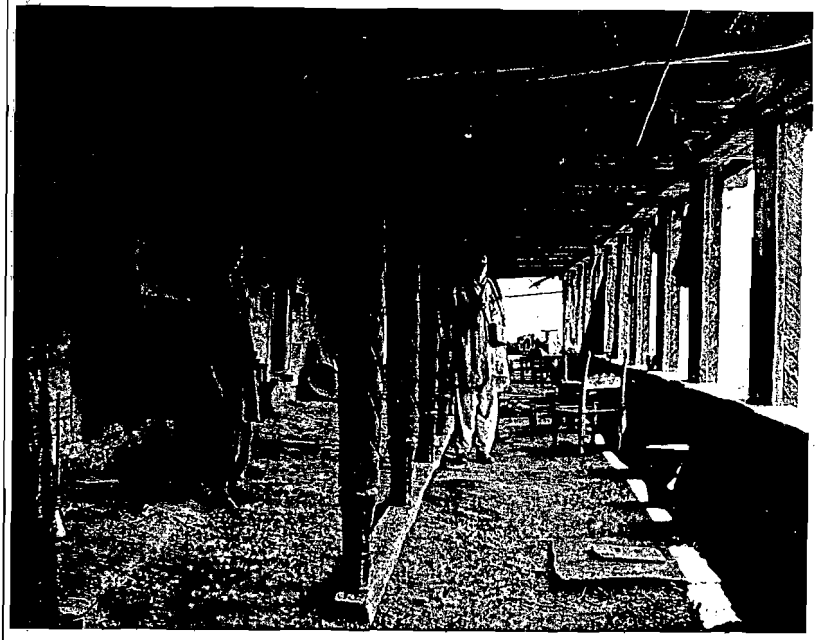
Of special importance for vegetation and herding activities is the relative humidity of the air at the mountain pastures. In the early morning the R.H. is only slightly less than 50% and during daytime this quickly drops to 10 or even 5% (Breckle 1973: 38, Abb.7, see our fig. 34). This makes it possible for the shepherds to dry curds in the stone containers arranged on top of the walls round the seater camps (see picture 65).

The daily fluctuations of some microclimatic conditions and ecological factors shown in Breckle's diagram have an important effect on the alpine vegetation and enable us to understand why the highest mountain pastures near the main crest are but little used. Quarrels over grazing occur mainly on mountain pastures of the lower, secondary ranges, e.g., Ülaisum, upper Tsamgal, and probably round Surmei.



1 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, August, 1960.* In this early morning view, looking north across the village, one can see many interesting details: firewood piled on several verandahs, hay drying on a few rooftops, a loom or two leaning against house walls, beds placed outside during house cleaning, a group of people talking together. This village is typical of those in the Bashgal Valley.—Photo: S.J.





Autumn

If you ask a Nuristani which season of the year he prefers, he will answer the Autumn. There are several reasons for this; for one thing the weather is good. The second half of September and all of October are probably the driest weeks of the year. This makes it convenient for the harvest of cereals and for the collection of wild fruits. Round the first of October at an elevation of 2,000 m temperatures during the night are still so high that one can conveniently sleep on the roof-tops under an open sky. But by the middle of October the mountain pastures turn white with snow, and at the end of that month there are icicles on the wooden aqueducts above 2,500 m. Before November the ground between the coniferous trees in the upper part of the forest zone is also covered with snow.

In Ptsigrom (3,100 m), probably one of the highest hamlets in all Nuristan, the temperature on the 28th of October, 1970 at 19:30 was 3° C. At 22:00 it was -1° C., with fine snow falling. Next morning at 05:30 the temperature was -4.5° C. with a clear sky, and at 08:30 the temperature had gone up to -2° C. (Funder: diary). At midday the surface of the ground was frozen wherever the sun could not reach, and it probably remains so throughout the winter. In the Ashkun area of Western Nuristan we noted that any ground above 2,000 m that is in shadow all day is frozen hard throughout December and January.

The Snow Line

Most of Nuristan is situated below the permanent snow line, but limited sections of the main crest are above. In the mountains above Suyengal the snow line is known to lie at 4,900 m on the Northern side (i.e., away from the sun), and at 5,500 m on the side exposed to the sun—the Southern slopes (Breckle 1973: 34). Few studies of existing glaciers and Würm moraines in the Hindu Kush have been carried out.

2 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, 10 August, 1964.* Haji Mohammad Afzal, grandson of Torag Merak (see Robertson 1896: 7), stands in front of his home. The 'house' is actually five houses. A single house in Nuristan is usually two storeys high and approximately square, measuring three bays across. In front of the upper storey is a verandah which projects out two bays from the front wall of the main structure. In the Bashgal Valley this verandah is roofed over and forms an open gallery in front of the adjoining houses. The end timbers of each separate house are visible in the front wall below the verandah. The end timbers of the roofs are visible at one-bay intervals, both over and under the verandah. Each bay has a 'window' in the front wall of the verandah; here the two windows at either end of the long verandah have been closed by carved panels. As far as is known, this is the only example in Nuristan of five houses being built together in this way and, possibly, this is the largest house ever built in this style. In 1935 this building consisted of only four houses, the fifth having been added since. All members of the household belong to one family.—Photo: L.E.

3 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, 10 August, 1964.* Mohammed Afzal (right) on his verandah. In the lower Bashgal the verandah is furnished with a row of carved pillars which stand midway between the house wall (left) and the verandah windows (right).
The verandah is an area where common activities take place, particularly in summer when people often sit on the window sills, from which vantage point they have a fine view of the village, the mountains, and the valley. (See also picture 113).
Each door along the verandah leads to the domain of a housewife. In the right foreground there is a wooden slab covering a hole leading down to a room below. Here members of the household relieve themselves during the night, squatting over the hole. A heap of dry leaves in the room below facilitates periodic cleaning. The mixture of manure and leaves is carried out and spread on the fields in springtime.—Photo: L.E.

When the N[illegible]ni want to travel from Ptsigrom in Shkorigul to the Parun Valley and snow has fallen during the night, they wait for the sun to melt the surface and delay their start until night when the surface of the snow has frozen again so that it can bear their weight (see account of Timur's campaign, p. 19). For such a journey they prefer a moonlit night.

Fig. 5

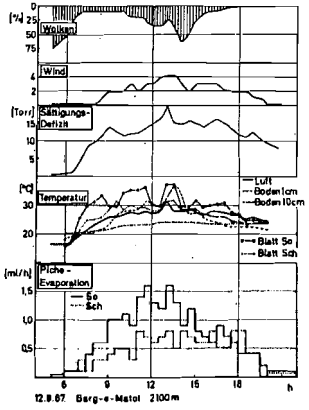


Fig. 6

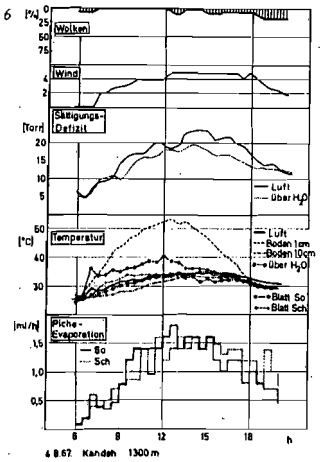


Fig. 5:

Microclimatological daily course from Bragamatal (Barg-e-Matol) 2,100 m alt. Date: 12 August, 1967.

Piche-Evaporation expressed in ml/h, measured by water-loss from green blotting paper kept wet in sun (So) and shade (Sch), the latter measurements taken in the shade of an Elaeagnus tree.

Temperatur of the air (Luft), of soil surface (Boden, 1 cm) and in soil (Boden, 10 cm); leaf temperatures of Elaeagnus leaves in sun (Blatt So) and on shady side of the tree (Blatt-Sch).

Sättigungsdefizit (saturation deficit) calculated from the air temperature and the relative humidity of the air. It shows the humidity saturation deficit of the air.

Wind: the wind speed was estimated.

Wolken: the % of the sky covered with clouds was estimated. Because the day was cloudy, the data show some irregularities in the course of the day.

Fig. 6:

Microclimatological daily course from Kandai (Kandeh, lower Pech Valley), alt. 1,300 m. Date: 4 August, 1967.

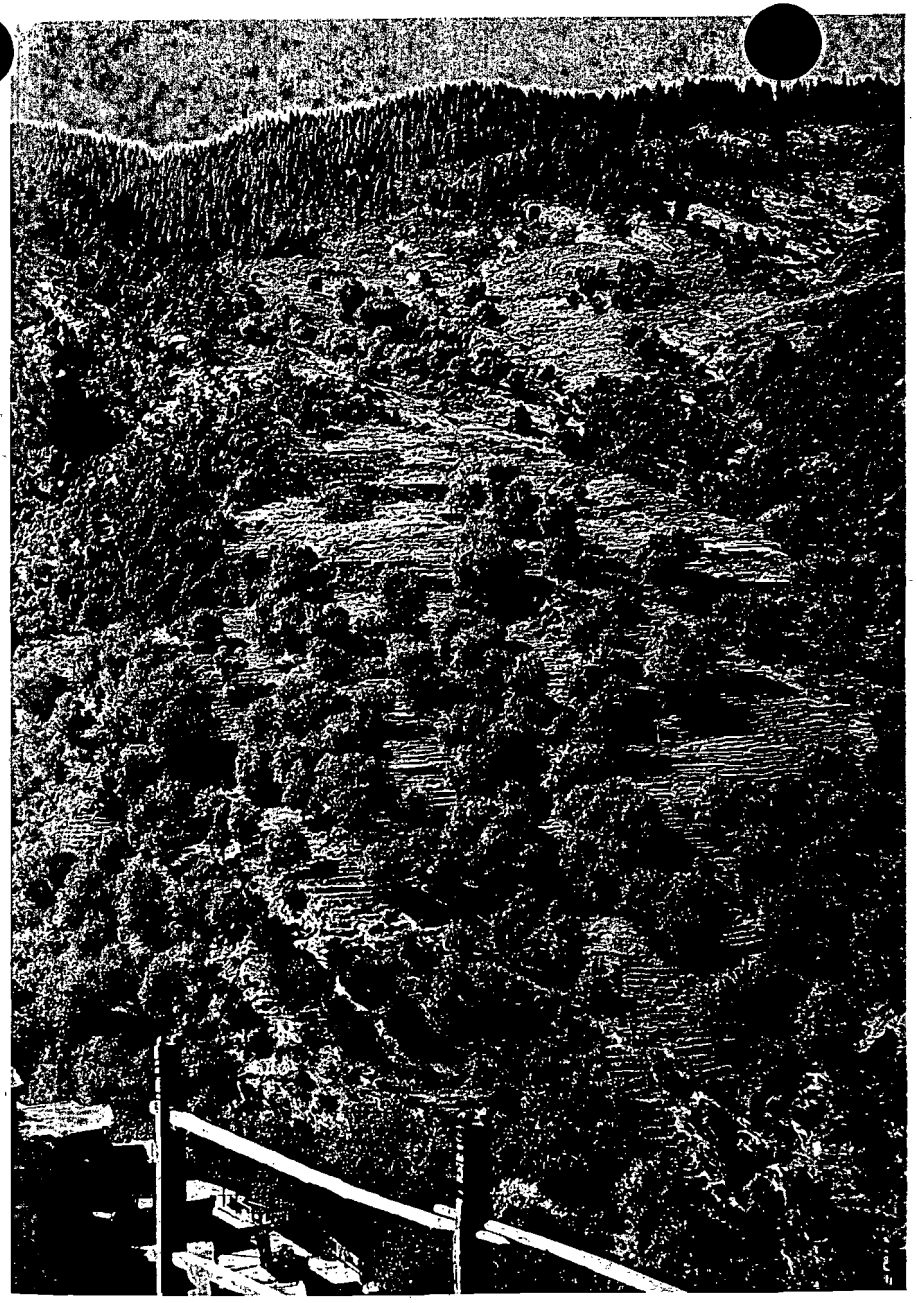
Piche-Evaporation, as above, except shady side of a Morus tree.

Temperatur, as above, except in addition the temperature of the air just above an irrigation channel was measured (über H2O) because there were many cobwebs, which indicate more moderate ecological conditions, as do the saturation deficit values. The leaf temperatures were taken from leaves in sun (Blatt So) and leaves in shade (Sch) using a cultivated Ficus shrub.

Sättigungsdefizit, as above, except open air (Luft) and above an irrigation channel (über H2O).

Wind and *Wolken,* estimated, as above.

Fig. 5 and 6 courtesy S.-W. Breckle.



4

4 *Zhönchigal, 1900 m, Waigal Valley, mid-July, 1964.* View to the South from that part of the village inhabited by the *žū-deri* (clan), across the valley toward the pass leading to Muldesh. The terraced fields lie in the evergreen oak zone—the natural vegetation is visible to the right and left of the cultivated area. Among the fields and partly shading them are deciduous fruit trees, mainly walnut and mulberry. The crest of this spur is in the coniferous zone and is mainly covered by cedar trees. In the foreground a verandah railing is visible.—Photo: L.E.

5 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, mid-July, 1964.* A young man sets out for the mountain pastures clad in a goatskin jacket. Among other things, he carries a wooden bowl and two axes. Wooden bowls like this one that have been carved from poplar logs rather than turned, are usually obtained from Parun Valley. They are used for milking. The man gives the traditional gesture of greeting.—Photo: L.E.

6 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, mid-July, 1964.* A woman who has been working in the fields approaches the village along the edge of an irrigation channel. She looks after her older child while carrying the younger one. On her back is a basket of greenery which will be spread on the roof at home to dry for hay. The long stick helps her to keep balance on the narrow trail.—Photo: L.E.

7 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, mid-July, 1964.* Woman sowing a terraced field. She casts handfuls of grain very sparingly from a small hairy goatskin bag. Immediately after sowing she will cultivate the field with a two-pronged traction fork. See picture 15.—Photo: L.E.

To the traveller who has just crossed the arid plains North of Jalalabad and approaches the Hindu Kush, it is an impressive contrast to suddenly see the forests of Kashmund and later the forests of Nuristan itself. Life in Nuristan is primarily a life in the forests—especially for the women. However, from Dewa upwards in the Parun Valley, and in the upper Bashgal and Shkorigul (and probably in the upper Ramgal as well) the forests diminish and vanish altogether.

The forest zone as a whole covers the Southern slopes of the Central Hindu Kush from an altitude of 1,300 m to 3,300 m where the sub-alpine thickets and shrublands take over to merge into alpine meadows (see fig. 9).

Types of Trees found in Nuristan

Linnean system	Synonyms (most common terms in italics)	*English*	*German*
Quercus baloot		evergreen oak	Steineiche
Quercus dilatata			
Quercus semecarpifolia			
Pinus gerardiana		pine, edible pine	Kiefer
Pinus wallichiana	(P. *excelsa*, P. nepalensis, P. griffithii)	pine	Föhre
Cedrus deodara	(Pinus deodara, Cedrus indica)	cedar	Zeder
Abies spectabilis	(Abies *webbiana*, Pinus spectabilis)	fir	Tanne
Picea smithiana	(P. *morinda*, Abies smithiana, Pinus smith.)	spruce	Fichte
Taxus wallichiana	(T. contorta, T. *baccata* ssp. wallichiana)	yew	Eibe
Juniperus excelsa	(J. *polycarpos*, J. seravshanica, J. macropoda)	juniper cedar	Wacholder
Juniperus communis ssp. nana	(J. sibirica, J. communis var. montana)	juniper	Wacholderstrauch

The Oak Zone (1,300–2,100 m)

From the arable fields along the Kunar and lower Pech Rivers the lower reaches of the oak zone are easily exploited. Here the olive tree *(Olea ferruginea)* has its special habitat and from here the Nuristani men cut it to make shafts for their axes and adzes, and for their walking sticks (a symbol of prestige). The Ashkun and Waigali women use long staves of olive wood when balancing their heavy loads along narrow mountain paths.

Relatively few Nuristani villages are situated in the lower part of this oak zone. It is, however, characteristic of the Chimi area (Want, Muldesh, Chimi, and Kegal), the Tregam area, Weligal, and in the lower Bashgal Valley (the Landaisīn), Gawardesh, and a few hamlets near the river below Kamdesh, all of which lie in this zone. But nearly all other villages in the Ashkun-Waigal area and in the Bashgal Valley from Kamu to Badamuk are located only slightly below the rather narrow transitional zone between the oak forests and the coniferous forests. This does not mean that the evergreen oak disappears at higher altitudes; the *Quercus baloot* is replaced by the similar *Quercus dilatata*, a tree requiring greater humidity. Actually the evergreen oak is found as far up as the juniper zone, but in these upper altitudes, for example in the Parun Valley, the oak one finds is the *Quercus semecarpifolia* (up to approximately 2,900 m). These last two types of oak forests rarely reach the densities of *Quercus baloot*.

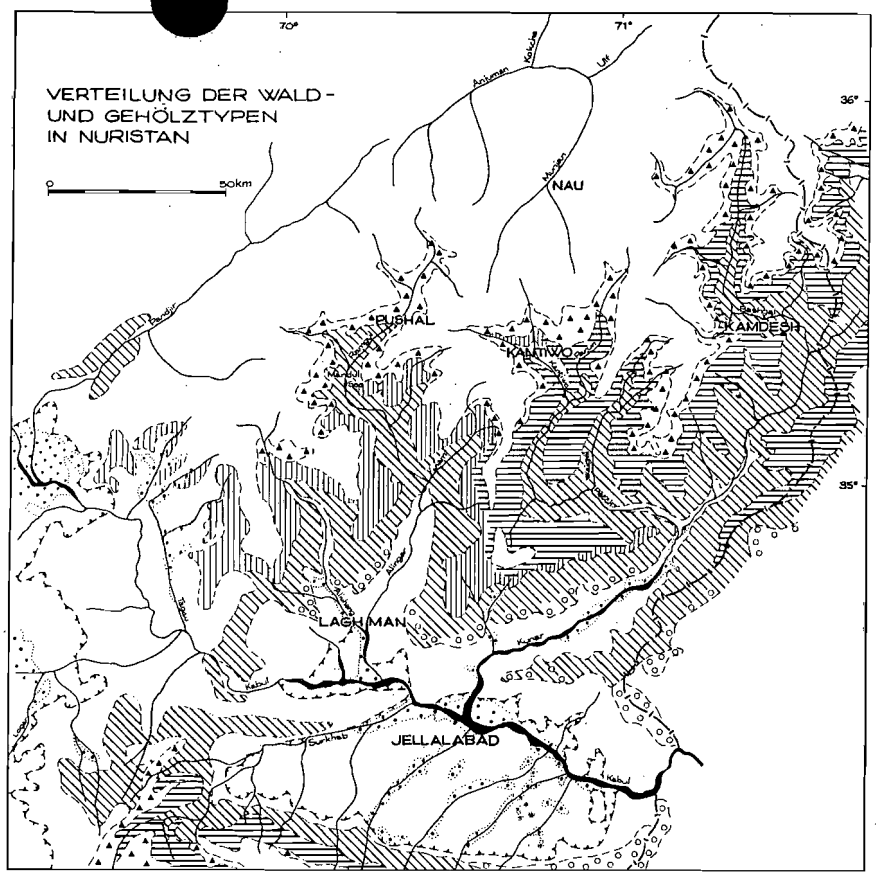
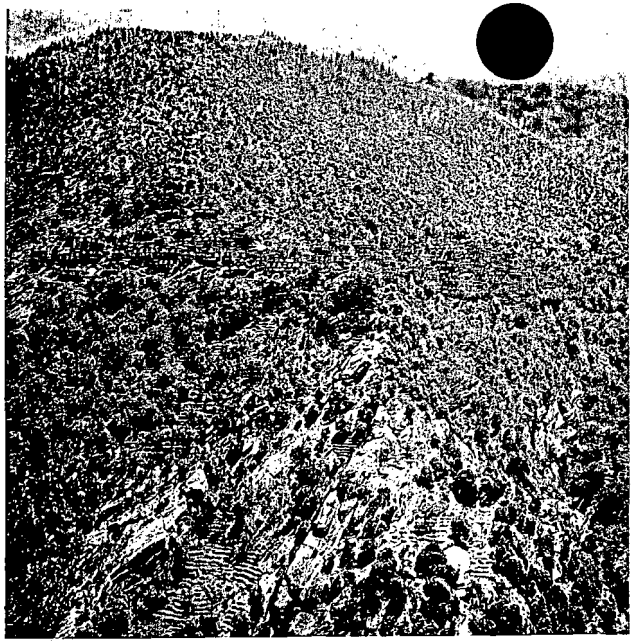


Fig. 7:

Forest Map of Nuristan–based on a map by D. Fischer 1970: 12.
Note: According to Rechinger, editor of Flora Iranica,
Picea morinda is now known as *Picea smithiana*, and
Abies Webbiana is now *Abies spectabilis*.



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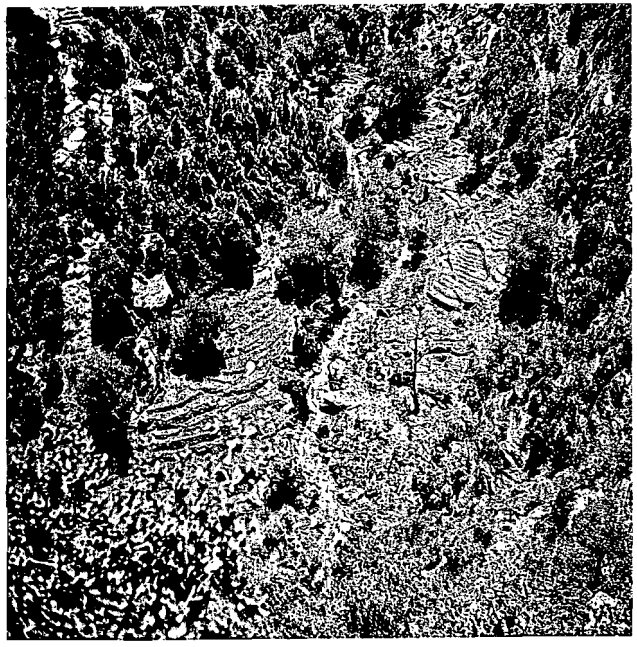
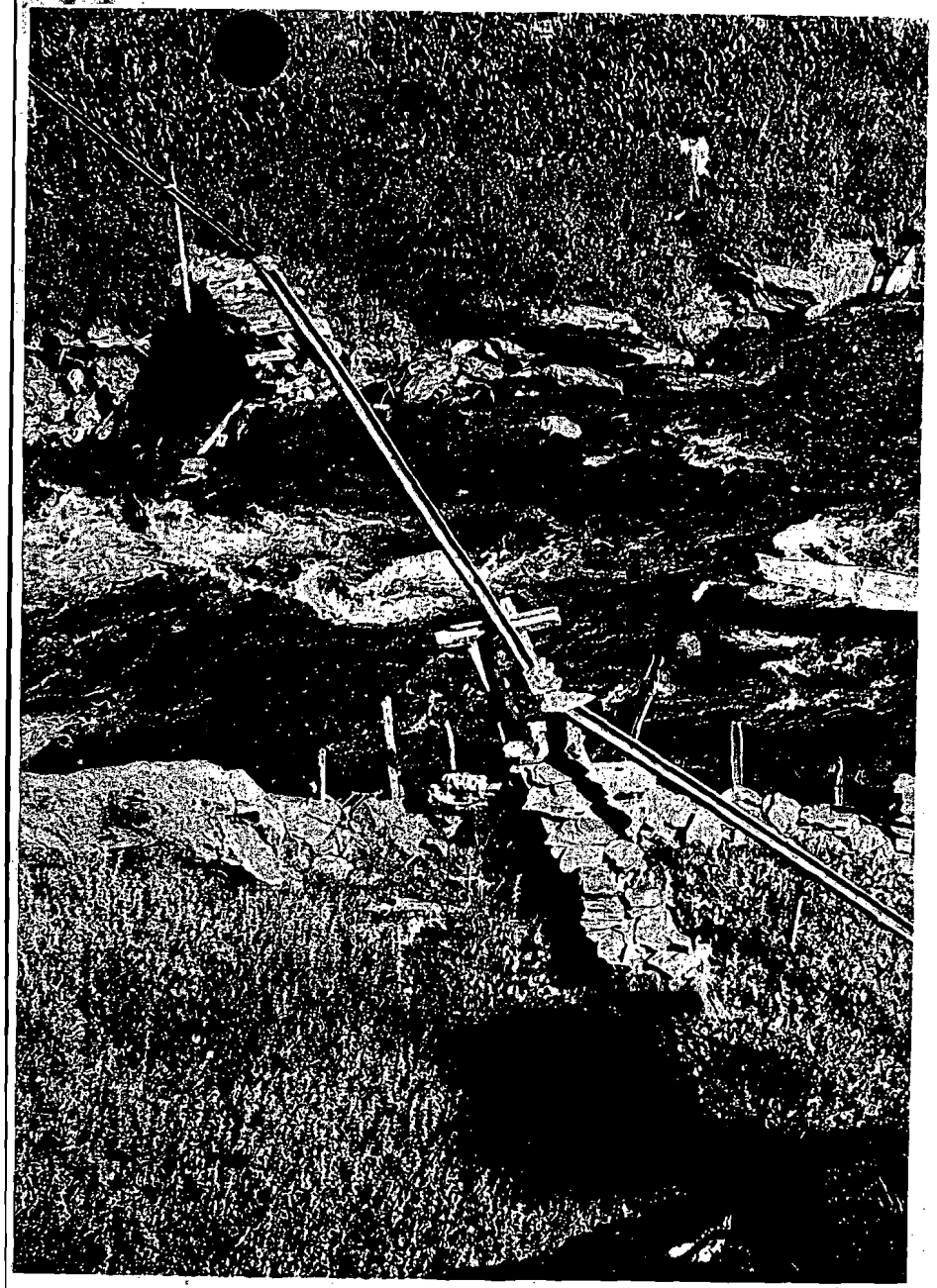


9

8-9
Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, 13 July, 1964. The village, as seen from the West. Nuristani villages are particularly interesting because of the way in which they fit harmoniously into their natural environment–the steep, forested mountain ranges of the Hindu Kush. This village is located in the upper part of the evergreen oak forest zone. The crest above the village is covered with cedars. The lower right corner of picture 8 overlaps with the upper left corner of picture 9. The stream in picture 9–a tributary of the Waigal River–runs between terraced fields in the V-shaped valley. The left part of the village is Abresh, the quarter inhabited by the craftsmen. Then follows (across to the right) the sections occupied by the clans of Büž, Let and Žü.–Photo: L.E.



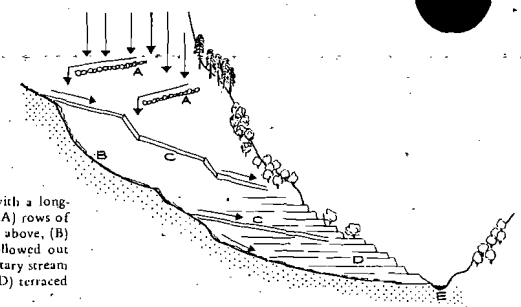


Fig. 8:
Cross-section of the Pech Valley north of Wama with a longitudinal section of a small tributary valley showing (A) rows of stones to catch run-off from the large rock surfaces above, (B) tributary stream, (C) wooden channels made of hollowed out tree trunks which lead the water from both the tributary stream and the rock surfaces above to the terraced fields, (D) terraced fields, (E) Pech River. (Edelberg 1952: 19).

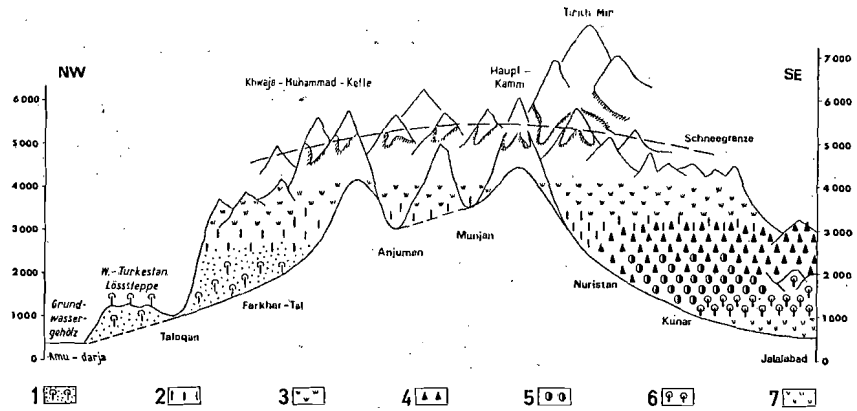


Fig. 9:
Schematic N.W.–S.E. cross-section of the Main Crest of the Hindu Kush, showing the vegetation of Nuristan and neighbouring areas to the North and South.
Schematisches Vegetationsprofil durch den mittleren Hindukusch (Rathjens 1972 b).
1: Grasfluren und offene Gehölze von Pistazien *(Pistacia vera)* und Judasbaum *(Cercis Griffithii)*; 2: Offene Wacholder-Gehölze *(Juniperus polycarpos)*; 3: Hochsteppen und Matten; 4: Stufe des Zedernwaldes *(Cedrus Deodara)*, an feuchteren Standorten mit Fichten *(Picea morinda)* und Tannen *(Abies Webbiana)*; 5: Eichenwaldstufe *(Quercus Griffithii, Balout)*; 6: Oliven *(Olea cuspidata)*–Kiefern *(Pinus longifolia)*–Stufe; 7: Wüstensteppe.

10 *Tsamgal, 10 July, 1970.* An irrigation channel passes over a small river. The wooden aqueduct has been laid down between two cantilevers, possibly in the place where a small bridge once stood. By means of such aqueducts terraced fields in places difficult of access can be irrigated. Such aqueducts are constructed by the craftsmen.–Photo: L.E.

In the lower part of the oak zone it is a little difficult to imagine what the composition of the herbaceous vegetation would be if men and goats did not exist in the area. No doubt many herbs growing in cracks in the vertical stone walls of the terraced fields belong to the natural vegetation and they have found a refuge here where they are neither weeded nor destroyed by grazing.

The lower limit of the oak zone, which was considered to mark the beginning of an arid zone, is probably man-made. A forest region, untouched by man, has a kind of self-intensifying effect as the existence of the forest increases the humidity and this produces a favourable environment for more trees; the trees help each other by a 'community-effect'. When man appears on the scene he usually not only cancels out this natural forest expansion by cutting down trees, but his activities reverse the trend.

Thus the treeless zone below the forest belt in the S.E. Hindu Kush is expanding due to human activity. The first investigator to put forward the idea that the oak forests once covered a larger area within historical times was Kerstan (D.i.H. 1937: 163), later to be followed by Neubauer (1954: 498) and Rathjens (1958: 260 and 1974b: 300). Agreement among these investigators constitutes a warning signal for those who make Government decisions in Afghanistan.

The microclimatic conditions of the Kunar Valley from Barikot to Chaga Sarai and of the Pech Valley from Gusalak to Chaga Sarai could be improved by afforestation projects on lands not being used for cultivation, provided that corresponding measures to protect the newly planted trees from damage by villagers and livestock were taken. But even so, the humidity on the lower borders of the oak forest at Gusalak is still so high that mistletoe can be found at an elevation of 1,250 m.[5] This mistletoe is *Viscum dryophilum* Rech. fil., n. sp. (new species), and it is indigenous to Nuristan, but probably not so different from *Viscum album* that it requires different humidity conditions. One does not have to go far into the forested valleys before mistletoe becomes abundant, and is found together with *Korthalsella opuntia*, which grows on oak as well.

In connection with humidity conditions it is tempting to refer to the ivy *(Hedera nepalensis)* which covers so many rock surfaces in the lower Pech and Waigal Valleys, but this plant *may* benefit from subsoil water.

When Alexander's army passed through the region between the mountains of the Hindu Kush and the Kabul River it probably kept to the more accessible routes and did not venture into the wild narrow valleys of present-day Nuristan. Nevertheless, if we can trust the historical reports of Arrian and Rufus and the Commentaries to Appolonios' Argonautica, the ivy, grape vines, laurel, and perhaps the olive were found by the soldiers of this army in Eastern Afghanistan (see Edelberg 1965: 194). All this seems to indicate that the Kunar Valley and perhaps the desert-like areas South of the Kashmund Mountains were more or less woodlands in those early times. Today in Eastern Afghanistan the devastation of the forests is easily discernable within a single generation.

At Wama (river alt. 1,650 m; village alt. 1,900–1,950 m) the oak forest may in some places be so dense that the crowns touch each other. The most impressive oaks in Nuristan are perhaps those standing in a row along the inner boundary of the garden of *Indrakun* at Wama (see Edelberg 1965: 162, map). Similarly, there is a grove of enormous oaks near Jamach in Waigal Valley.

5 All altitudes given for Edelberg's plant finds in Nuristan in 1948 (see Køie and Rechinger, *Symbolae Afghanicae*, vols. I–VI, 1954–1965) should be increased by 250 m.

Indrakun is primarily a vineyard, but grapevines are found in quantity nearly everywhere in the oak forests from 1,350 m and upwards to the coniferous zone. These grapevines are considered to be indigenous to Nuristan (Neubauer 1952 and 1974, and Vassilczenko 1964 and 1970) and are described as a special species, *Vitis nuristanica* Vassilcz.

In the humid part of the oak zone where *Quercus dilatata* is found there are figs, peaches, and apricots as well as jujubes *(Zizyphus vulgaris)* and Persimmon *(Diospyros lotus)*, pomegranates, and apples.

Some conspicuous harbingers of Spring are the yellow Crown Imperial *(Fritillaria imperialis* var. *chitralensis)* and the laurel *(Daphne angustifolia)*. Soon the almonds follow, their flowers being pollinated by grey bumble bees in mid-April (noted in Wama).

The walnut, together with mulberry, is commonly found among the terraced fields. In the coniferous zone a kind of walnut is found with such thick, hard shells that they can scarcely be broken, and if one finally succeeds, a diminutive kernel is the reward. But bears can deal with such obstacles, and the chewed shell fragments are found in their feces.

"Abgesehen von der *immergrünen Quercus dilatata* ähnelt die Gesellschaft in ihrem Aufbau und weitgehend auch in ihrem Gattungsinventar einem warntemperierten europäischen Eichen-Mischwald" (Freitag 1971: 325).

This is especially true of the beautiful forests in the Dungul Valley (Derin), where the horse-chestnut *(Aesculus indica)* is common and the *pocan* or pokeweed *(Phytolacca)* shines with its long upright white inflorescence among the dark green undergrowth.

The Coniferous Zone (2,100–3,300 m)

Kerstan was the first to observe that the coniferous zone of Nuristan is a 'cloud forest' (D.i.H. 1937: 150–151). More recently, Rathjens has written, ". . . ein Wolkenwald . . . der nicht so sehr von der Höhe der Niederschläge, als vielmehr von der monsunalen Wolkendecke und dem von ihr ausgeübten Schutz gegen die hohe sommerliche Einstrahlung abhängt" (Rathjens 1974: 299–300).

The upper limit of the forest–the timber line–is not caused by low temperatures in the growing season, but by low relative humidity, especially during the hours of daylight. "Daß die Grenze im oberen Teil der Täler nicht durch die Temperaturverhältnisse bedingt sein kann, erhellt aus einer sehr auffälligen Tatsache. Im oberen Parun-Tal oberhalb Schtiwe, also schon weit außerhalb des Waldgebietes, stehen Maulbeer- und Walnußbäume, deren Dasein durch die Bewässerungsgräben gesichert ist, während die natürliche Boden- und Luftfeuchtigkeit für Waldbäume nicht mehr ausreicht. Diese Kulturbäume verlangen doch mindestens ebensoviel Feuchtigkeit wie die sonst vorkommenden Nadelbäume" (Kerstan, D.i.H. 1937: 150–151).

In other words, the humidity does not increase with altitude, but has its climax in the coniferous zone. Thus the forest zone as a whole is fixed between a lower and an upper dry zone. Between these two arid zones the forests have maintained themselves since the last ice age (Würm) by creating thin layers of relatively fertile soil. This soil, vital for plant life, is extremely vulnerable to erosion when no longer protected from summer rain storms by tree cover.

It is this coniferous zone that has given the culture of Nuristan some of its very special features. Without the timber provided by cedars, pines, and firs, the craftsmen of Nuristan would have no raw materials to work with and the economic life of the herders and cultivators could not be sustained.

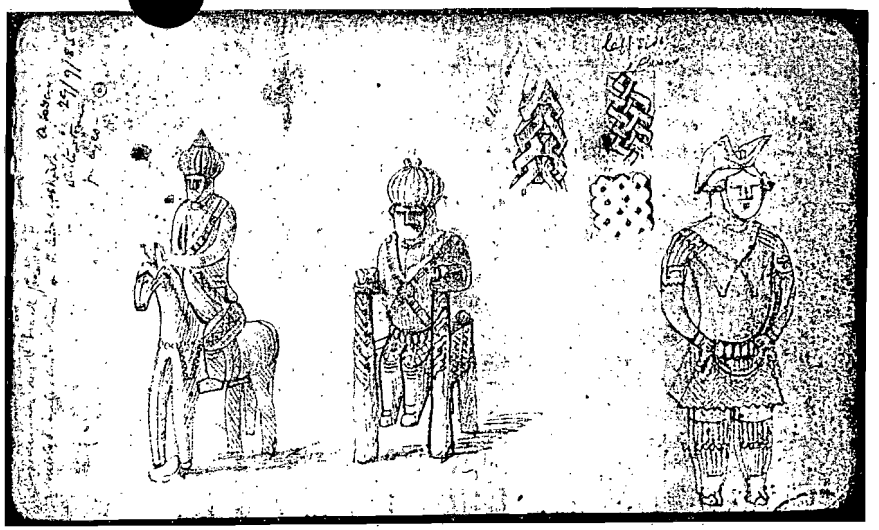


Fig. 10:
Drawing of wooden memorial and funeral figures. From an original pencil sketch made by Col. R. G. Woodthorpe at Apsai (Afṭsai), Bashgal Valley, 29 September, 1885. Along the left margin of the sketch, Woodthorpe, probably intending to make a water colour later, has made the following ntes: "[?] red and black paint rubbed into cut lines on [?] helmet and skirt. White stones for eyes. Apsai 29/9/85." On the back of the sketch he has written:

"Rude figures propped up between stones [?] inside—
Blood on one
little hatchet
in front only male figure."

a) *M'oči* *kac'əm* *giti* *na* *wř̃ānum*
My-husband looking-for having-come not I-see,

b) *Kam-guř̃ō* *pə-štor'e* *čir'i* *čum-ǰāṣ.*
Of-the-Kam-boys in-quiver raiding-party's juniper-torch.

c) *Tar'ěř-* *kir'ə* *m'oči* *na* *wř̃ānum.*
Decorated-shield my-husband not I see.

I came to look for my husband, but I cannot see him,
My fallen husband was a torch (= arrow) in the quiver of the Kam youths on raid.
I cannot see my husband with the decorated shield.

a) *Kac-am:* Pres. Ptc.
b) *Kuřə:* 'boy', 'young man'.
Čum: 'torch made of juniper wood'. *Jaṣ* 'torch'.
c) *Tar'ěř:* 'spot', 'mark', e.g., on an animal. Cf. "Some Kati Myths and Hymns" (*AO*, XXI, 179) *s'une tār'ěřo!* '(O Imra) with the golden blaze!' Here Prs. *(sipar-e) nišāndār* (a shield) with an emblem.

(From Morgenstierne 1967: 1386)

11 *Bragamatal, Bashgal Valley, September 1885.* Woman wearing a 'horned cap'. This photograph, taken by Surgeon G.M.J. Giles of the Indian Medical Department, and printed in the secret Lockhart Report of The Gilgit Mission, 1889, is the only photograph known to exist of a woman wearing the horned cap. Only one example of such a cap, collected by Georg Morgenstierne in Chitral in 1929 and now in the Oslo Museum, is known.—From the India Office Library, London.

11

The pine with the domed crown *(Pinus gerardiana),* the seeds of which are edible[illegible]ally found mixed with oaks in the middle and upper part of the oak zone. In Western Nuristan—that region drained by the Alingar River—the cedar, the spruce, the fir, and the *Pinus wallichiana* are entirely replaced by *Pinus gerardiana,* a tree that is better able to withstand dry conditions.

Those of us who have travelled in Nuristan do not always agree in detail about the lower and upper limits of the different coniferous trees, probably because we have often travelled by different routes. If one travels up the Pech Valley from Wama towards Kusht in Central Nuristan the first cedars *(Cedrus deodara)* are found in the bottom of the valley at 1,780 m, and the first slender pines *(Pinus wallichiana)* are seen on the valley floor at 2,070 m.

The cedar and the *Pinus wallichiana* are probably the two most common sources of timber in Nuristan, but some of the large Kafir statues in the Kabul Museum (see Edelberg 1960 : 267, KK 23) must have been hewn from the very large trunks of *Pinus gerardiana.*

In the undergrowth one finds white hollyhocks and, quite often among the bushes, the barberry *(Berberis* spec.). This plant is the intermediate host of the dangerous black rust, *Puccinia graminis,* which damages the cereal crops, but the Nuristani do not know this.

Mushrooms are collected and used for food in Nuristan. When Abdullah Wakil of Keshtagrom visited Denmark in 1970 he obtained not only seeds of many fruit trees, but mycelia spawn as well which he got from a mushroom grower. Some years earlier he had introduced the tomato into Nuristan. The Waigali people call mushrooms *kiläṛik (kilā,* 'cheese'), or sometimes *kīṛan-xāk,* which means 'earth cheese' (Morgenstierne 1957: 453).

On mountain slopes not fully exposed to the sun, the fir *(Abies spectabilis)* and the spruce *(Picea smithiana)* are found mixed with the trees already mentioned. If the summer precipitation is normally abundant, these trees may even be predominant as, for example, in the high fertile forests round Dungul.

In the lower part of the inhabited section of Parun Valley—especially between Pashki and Kushteki—those mountain slopes that are fully exposed to the sun are covered by edible pine and oak forests. The coniferous forests of the cooler and more humid slopes lack oak, but are rich in cedar, spruce, fir, and *Pinus wallichiana.*

At the foot of the mountains in Parun this beautiful forest is edged by a pleasant, park-like landscape, the main component of which is hazel *(Corylus jacquemontii),* though there are many apple trees in addition to elm, ash, and rowan. Such 'park areas' are carefully tended by the villagers. In May they sweep up the previous Autumn's hulls and leaves and burn them off in piles. In this way they can later harvest a crop of hay from this land. *Podophyllum* adorn these beautiful shady meadows, but the villagers do not seem to eat its fruit.

12 *Waigal, Bergele, Waigal Valley, 11 July, 1970.* Women weeding their millet fields in twilight. On the low balks separating the fields beans are grown.—Photo: M.E.

13 *Waigal, Bergele, Waigal Valley, 11 July, 1970.* A woman leads the irrigation water to her fields by making an opening in the balk. In the Ashkun—Waigali area, fields are shaped like shallow basins, bordered by low balks which are built up every Spring. When irrigating, the woman lets the field run full of water, and then makes a short balk across the entrance to stop the flow. The water then soaks into the soil. In this way she works from field to field for a long as she has the right to water, trying to reach all the arable land in her section. As water is often scarce during summer, such work continues the whole night in the light of pine torches.—Photo: L.E.

Last but [illegible]t, in Parun Valley poplars are common—there is even a little grove of white poplars near Pashki. The poplars are the basis for the local manufacture and export of wooden bowls. The Autum scene is brightened by the yellow leaves of willow and poplar, particularly in Shkorigul. Large stemmed birches *(Betula jacquemontii* subsp. *jacquemontii)* are also common in both Parun and Shkorigul.

Vavilov reports the yew *(Taxus wallichiana)* at 2,600 m, though he does not say where he found it (Vavilov and Bukinich 1929). Kerstan found the yew below the Sadel Pass in the Mashwi Valley (D.i.H. 1937: 158) and we found a little clump of yew in Adrugal in 1948 at an altitude of 2,930 m near the pass leading to Wama, and again the following year, together with horse-chestnuts in the Dungul (Derin) area. They are also to be found at Ashpai between 2,250 and 2,750 m (Neuhauer 1952: 142). According to Freitag (1971: 326) the yew is associated with the type of oak found at higher altitudes, the *Quercus semecarpifolia.*

The upper fringes of the coniferous forests consist of open juniper cedar woodlands. The juniper cedar *(Juniperus excelsa)* was, from ancient times, the holy tree of what is today Nuristan. There might be a practical basis for this, as the wood of the juniper cedar is by far the best firewood available in the neighbourhood of the alpine pastures. We shall see latet that the important production of ghee and the making of various kinds of cheeses would not be possible without considerable amounts of firewood.

In the garden at Wama, *Indrakun,* there is a dead and a living juniper cedar. According to local tradition, they were planted there by Indra, who had fetched them from Surmei. This may illustrate that there is a close connection in Nuristani culture between the making of dairy products and the existence of juniper cedar woodlands near the pastures where such dairy products are made. Sometimes one finds a single beautiful juniper cedar that has been deliberately left unharmed, e.g., on the Eastern side of Kashiragal, and on the Eastern approaches to Ashtaragala. They seem to stand in such places as a reminder of earlier days. By the time one reaches 3,500 m the juniper cedar woodlands have stopped, but single trees are occasionally found up to 4,400 m. Breckle has noted them at such altitudes in Suyengal (personal communication).

The Subalpine, Alpine and Nival zones

The zones above the timber line have been studied by S.-W. Breckle, who has made a preliminary classification of the vegetation (see p. 39 and Breckle, 1973: 33). See also Breckle 1974.

In the sub-alpine thickets (Knieholzbestände) and cushion-shrublands (Dornpolsterfluren) lying above the juniper cedar woodlands the Nuristani cut the woody species of the genera *Astragalus, Acantholimon,* and *Cousinia* (for example, *Cousinia elasoonensis* Rech.f. et Edelberg n.sp., found on the mountain pastures of Elasoon/Ulaisum) to use as firewood. In Parun men come all the way down to the villages with huge loads of these plants on their backs for winter fuel. These thickets and cushion-shrublands probably constitute the largest and most productive parts of the mountain pastures at this altitude.

The flowering groves of Rhododendron *(Rhododendron colletianum,* see *Flora Iranica)* are one of the joys experienced by the botanist who walks on the mountain pastures of Nuristan in summer. When not flowering they may from a distance be mistaken for groves of *Juniperus communis.* The

14

14 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, mid-July, 1964.* Woman returning from her fields in the evening. She rests her basket on the edge of the irrigation channel behind her. The basket is full of greenery which will be dried for winter fodder. On her right she has put down a bundle of caraway, the seeds of which will be mixed with the bread dough which she will prepare as soon as she arrives home.—Photo: L.E.

15

Botanische Jahrbücher, Bd. 93

Vorläufige Gliederung der Vegetation in den Hochregionen des afghanischen Hindukusch.

Stufe	Gesteinsfluren: Fels-	Gesteinsfluren: Schutt-	Frostbodenfluren: offene Rasen	Frostbodenfluren: Schneeböden	Sumpffluren: Flachmoore	Sumpffluren: Schmelzwasser, Quellfluren
nival	*Aulacospermum, Nepeta pamirensis, Corydalis gortschakovii, Psychrogeton, Flechten*	*Saxifraga flagellaris, Nepeta pamirensis, Delphinium brunonianum, Ermania himalayensis, Androsace villosa, Waldheimia tomentosa,*	*Phaeonychium surculosum, Nepeta pamirensis, Ermania himalayensis, Carex nivalis, Saussurea gnaphalodes, Draba affghanica*	*Ermania himalayensis, Nepeta pamirensis, Draba affghanica, Saussurea gnaphalodes, Primula macrophylla, Cerastium cerastioides*	—	*Primula macrophylla, Nepeta pamirensis, Cerastium cerastioides, Ermania himalayensis, Saussurea gnaphalodes*
alpin	*Parrya nudicaulis (W), Nepeta glutinosa (E), Rubia tibetica, Rheum tibeticum, Phaeonychium surculosum, Valeriana fedtschenkoi, Erlrichium, Hymenolaena*	*Ranunculus shafcoanus, Delphinium brunonianum, Papaver inseucratum, Chorispora bungeana (E), Didymophysa fedtschenkoana, Corydalis metallica, Lamium rhomboideum (E), Waldheimia glabra (E), Waldheimia tomentosa (E), Psychrogeton*	*Smelowskia calycina (E), Androsace villosa, Carex nivalis, Potentilla multifida, Sedum heteradantum, Winklera stiatifolia, Leontopodium compestre, Cousinia, Psychrogeton, Acantholimon diapeasioides (E), Astragalus (Myobroma), Oxytropis immersa, Erigeron (E)*	*Chorispora macropada, Draba affghanica, Draba korshinskii, Ranunculus rufosepalus, Androsace villosa, Cerastium, Kobresia, Primula capitellata*	*Kabresia, Primula macraphylla, Saxifraga hirculus (E), Gentiana aquatica (E), Melandrium apetalum, Braya oxyearpa, Pedicularis, Carex*	*Primula macrophylla, Primula capitellata, Primula woorshenewskiana, Kobresia, Lamatogonium carinthiacum, Pedicularis, Swertia lacisa, Oxyria digyna, Epilobium latifolium,*
subalpin	*Lonicera semenowii, Potentilla phyllacalyx (E), Hymenolaena, Nepeta glutinosa (E), Cerasus, Rheum tibeticum, Paraquilegia grandiflora, Scutellaria, Dionysia tapetodes*	*Arnebia euchroma, Rheum, Artemisia, Astragalus, Cousinia, Isopyrum anemonoides, Nepeta spathulifera,*	Dompolsterfluren *Astragalus, Acanthotiman, Cousinea, Acanthophyllum, Onobrychis, Artemisia, Cicer, Nepeta podostachys, Leucopoa kerataviea, Eremurus korshinskii, Eremurus kaufmannii*	Knieholzbestände (E) *Juniperus nana, Juniperus squamata (E), Betula utilis (E), Rhododendron collettianum (E), Lonicera Berberis, Ephedra, Rosa, Ribes*		Bachränder *Salix, Betula utilis (E), Populus, Hippophaë (E), Myricaria (E), Urtica, Epilobium latifolium (E), Oxyria digyna*

(W: vorwiegend in den zentralafghanischen Gebirgen, im Westlichen Hindukusch, E: nur in den Gebirgen in Ost-Afghanistan, also im Zentralen und Östlichen Hindukusch)

(Breckle 1973, Botanische Jahrbücher, vol. 93).

groves of Rhododendron appear, however, bluish-green in colour, while the *Juniperus* groves are dark green. On the Survey maps of Afghanistan (e.g., Kāmdeš 1:50,000 71° 20' E. and 35° 22' N.) some areas of Rhododendron groves are erroneously marked as rocky outcrops.

The fine soils of the alpine zone are covered by a meadow vegetation consisting mainly of grasses, sedges *(Carex, Kobresia)* and many small perennials with very fine flowers. The composition of the vegetation even at this altitude is perceptibly influenced by the grazing of the livestock and, to a minor degree, by their droppings.

Nuristani shepherds probably know a lot about the site qualities of different pastures above the timber line, but from a scientific point of view, little is known about the natural productivity of the sub-alpine and alpine zones, which are the basis for herding practices. Future studies should focus on such problems.

On rocks the vegetation is very open and similar to the semi-desert vegetation types found in most parts of the Hindu Kush which are not influenced by the summer monsoon.

From a cultural viewpoint it is of interest to note that at least two different types of wild rhubarb

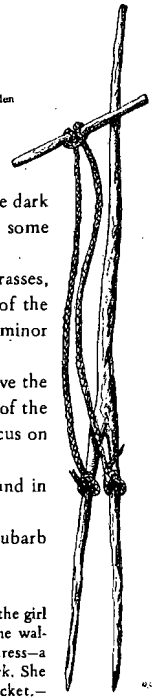


Fig. 11

15 *Wama, Pech Valley, 26 April, 1948.* This field, which belongs to the Mulla, has been sown before the other fields. The woman and the girl are now tilling the soil with a two-pronged traction fork. This is typical of the Ashkun-Waigali areas where V-shaped valleys with steeply sloping sides only allow the construction of small terraces.

The woman sticks the fork into the soil and the girl pulls the rope which is made of bast from the walnut tree. The woman wears traditional dress—a cotton robe with patterned red appliqué work. She wears leggings. The girl wears a goatskin jacket.—Photo: L.E.

(Rheum tibeti[illegible] are found, one squamosal, the other with smooth leaf stalks and leaves (Edelb. 679, collected between Pashki and Ktiwi, and Edelb. 973, collected between Pashki and Tsamgal. See Rechinger, *Flora Iranica* No. 56: 26). The Nuristani names for this plant are, in Kati, *cəwō*, and in Prasun, *ucapar*. Both of these seem to have a common origin with Sanskrit, *s'vātrá*, which means, 'invigorating (as Soma)'. Soma was the famous drink of the ancient Aryans. As Georg Morgenstierne has so cautiously put it: "It is . . . noteworthy that an ancient epithet of the invigorating Soma remains possibly in use up to the present day among some Hindukush tribes, as the name of the plant from which the Soma was originally made" (1954a: 33).

FAUNA

Apart from birds, which were studied in the field by Knud Paludan in 1948 and published in his book *On the Birds of Afghanistan* (Paludan 1959), and the recent Survey of the Mammals of Afghanistan (Hassinger 1973), the fauna of Nuristan have been little studied, though Schneider's specialist study of the honey bee *(Apis cerana* Fabr.) should also be mentioned.

Various travellers have spoken about butterflies (one species entirely black), dung beetles, fleas, lice, and other pests. We know that the rivers contain a great many fish; in the Pech River we have seen them so close together in the water that they almost touched each other. The Safi in the lower Pech use spears and torches to catch fish at night, but the people of Nuristan have an old tradition about not eating fish and do not regard them as a possible source of food.

A red-headed snake has been seen at Nisheigrom, and a meter-long monitor lizard below Waigal village, but we do not know the species. Snakes, including poisonous varieties, are particularly common in and round the village of Kegal.

Mammals

There are mice and rats, and on the mountain pastures, as well as at lower altitudes, one frequently hears the Long-tailed Marmots *(Marmota caudata)* 'whistling' as they sit upright at the mouth of their burrows.

In the forests the porcupine *(Hystrix indica)* must be quite common, considering the number of quills one finds.

In Zhönchigal in July 1964 a flying squirrel was seen at dusk, floating down over the terraces. It appeared as big as a crow and was probably the Common Giant Flying Squirrel *(Petaurista petaurista).* From Shtiwe in the Parun Valley Paludan has recorded the Smaller Kashmir Flying Squirrel *(Hylopetes fimbriatus),* seen above the timber line.

In the lower Bashgal and in Waigal monkeys are numerous. In winter they are marked with brownish grey foreparts and brownish yellow afterparts, with red between the thighs. They are probably Rhesus Macaque *(Macaca mulatta),* and are often seen in flocks of about twenty. They may do considerable damage to the crops.

The Wild Hog *(Sus scrofa)* may still exist in Nuristan; it certainly was hunted and eaten in pre-Muslim times. (See Nogge 1977: 34).

The Brown Bear *(Ursus arctos)* is occasionally encountered and its fur is often seen used as a floor covering in Nuristani homes. The Himalayan Black Bear *(Selenarctos thibetanus)* also dwells in Nuristan (for pictures, see Nogge 1977: 34).

In January, 1961 in Ashkun a Raccoon Dog *(Nyctereutes procyonides)*—at this time of the year silvery-grey with the usual black mask—was observed moving down among the rocks and bushes to the edge of a small river where for several moments it dabbled in the water with its front paws.

The Large-Eared Pika *(Ochotona macrotis)* was observed by Paludan (Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia, 1947–49) between Shtiwe and the Weran Pass—the most South-Westerly sighting on record for this species.

The Otter *(Lutra lutra)* is reported from Nuristan (see Hassinger 1973: 141) and Paludan purchased the skin of one on the Southern border of Nuristan. They presumably live on fish in the well-stocked rivers.

The Musk Deer *(Moschus moschiferus)* was observed in Nuristan by Paludan in 1948. The musk glands are known to villagers; Edelberg was asked if he wished to buy some.

Wolves are feared by the herdsmen, and leopards (especially in winter) can be destructive to the herds when at this season the livestock are either grazing on lowlands near the village or are kept in winter stables. There are two species of leopard in Nuristan: *Panthera pardus* and the Snow Leopard, *Uncia uncia.* A successful leopard hunter is greatly admired in Nuristan.

In the Northern, higher parts of Nuristan the 'Marco Polo Sheep' *(Ovis ammon poli)* is sometimes seen. The same is true of the Ibex *(Capra ibex),* but Robertson, who went hunting on several occasions in Nuristan in 1889 and 1890 never saw any (Robertson 1896: 652). He speaks of a wild sheep (ibid., 653) but we do not know the species.

The most famous animal in all Nuristan is the Markhor *(Capra falconeri).* When travelling with Nuristani one gains the impression that they are frequently thinking of markhor. They suggest that the rams copulate with their domestic goats in the mountains. The markhor, which is apparently becoming increasingly scarce in recent years, seems to be mainly associated with the upper reaches of the coniferous forest and the juniper cedar woodlands, rather than with the open mountain pastures, but this is only an impression. Its horns, which commonly measure from three to four feet in length, are found decorating the front of many a house in the Ashkun-Waigali area (see picture 16). In mythology the markhor plays an important rôle (Morgenstierne 1951: 164 and 181, and Edelberg 1972: 62). Shoes and boots trimmed with markhor hair are especially admired and are worn by men and women of rank.

For further information regarding mammals in Nuristan see Hassinger, J. D. 1973, *A Survey of The Mammals of Afghanistan.* Fieldiana Zoology, vol. 60, Chicago.

Birds

When entering Nuristan from the South, one must follow the V-shaped valleys and so one usually travels along the rivers. The roaring din of the turbulent waters often makes conversation impossible. No one even thinks of trying to shout across the river. The Nuristani have developed a sign language so that they can make themselves understood under these conditions. So too, a certain bird that lives by the running water, has adapted itself to the roar of the river. The Blue Whistling Thrush *(Myiophoneus caeruleus)* has developed a song consisting of some very loud, high-pitched shrill fluted notes, which the birds use when pursuing each other over the water. During these chases the colour of the birds changes constantly from nearly black to shining cobalt blue, as the light changes.

The Brown [redacted] *(Cinclus pallasii)* usually has its breeding grounds along the smaller mountain torrents, the main rivers being too swift and deep for it. At Lake Mandul in the Ramgal Valley cormorants are living (Newby 1958).

Where the valleys narrow to canyons one may see Wall Creepers *(Tichodroma muraria)* climbing over the sheer rock faces, hunting insects. They assist their upward progress by short wing flicks that flash their red and white markings as they dart out to snatch a passing insect on the wing.

In the oak forest the Slaty-headed Parakeet *(Psittacula himalayana)* is rather common, especially in Waigal and the Eastern parts of Nuristan. They wheel up and down the narrow valleys in noisy small green clouds—30 or more at a time—twittering and changing direction abruptly among the trees. They are sometimes caught, placed in small wickerwork cages, and taken out of Nuristan for sale in the bazaars of Afghan cities.

The Hoopoe *(Upupa epops)*, so beautiful in Spring among the new leaves in jujube groves, and the Paradise Flycatcher *(Terpsiphone paradisi)*, both the brown and the white variety, are found in Nuristan.

In the transition zone between the oak and coniferous forest (e.g., from Wama to Pashki) the Himalayan Pied Woodpecker *(Dendrocopus himalayensis)* is quite common.

The Lanceolated, or Black-throated Jay *(Garrulus lanceolatus)* is a resident of the oak forest, and the Jungle Crow *(Corvus macrorhynchos)* may be seen in all the forest zones. Between Zumu and Kushteki in the Parun Valley there is a formation of peculiar split rocks where big flocks of Choughs congregate and make their contribution to the attractive scenery of this spiritual centre of the old Kafiristan. Both the red-billed *(Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax)* and the Alpine Chough *(Pyrrhocorax graculus)* are found throughout the length of the Parun Valley.

The Raven *(Corvus corax)* seems to be quite rare in Nuristan (Paludan 1959: 299), which is surprising, because it has a certain significance in Nuristani poetry.

The Snowcock *(Tetraogallus himalayensis)* and the Chukor *(Alectoris graeca)* are found throughout the forest zone up to the Juniper cedar woodlands. They are most likely to be found in narrow valleys with steep canyon-like walls and numerous rock ledges. They also like to forage on patches where the grass has been burned off. The Nuristani hunt them.

16 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, mid-July, 1964.* Ganderik, an old widow, in the doorway of her home. The main door (not visible) is hung on the left side and opens inward. The half door is tied with a strip of rawhide to the right door panel and pivots in a socket in the sill. In winter this small door prevents lambs and kids from either entering or leaving, as the case may be, and it also prevents a cold draught at floor level, while allowing smoke out at the top of the doorway. Wood for the household fire is stacked on the verandah to the left of the door.
The carved designs on either side of the doorway represent the heads and horns of goats. The upper pair are *aṇtala śiṅg* ('entangled horns'), the lower pair are *cura śiṅg* or *kirau śiṅg* (kirau, the forked traction spade). These carvings are not just decorations, but are symbols of rank which were earned by the original owner of the house. The designs carved on these horns also represent such accomplishments as feast-giving and warrior exploits. It is not known why, in this particular case, the designs are unfinished. The wall of the house consists of horizontal logs alternating with stone and mud masonry. The wall is aligned and partly held in place by pairs of vertical timbers (visible here to the right and left of the door panels) called *pik'ä*. These pass through holes cut in horizontal wooden clamps *(nakuṛ'ä)*. See pictures 45, 46, 47, 50, and 93.
Here, on one projecting clamp end, the horns of wild markhor *(Capra falconeri)* have been placed to show that the owner of the house is also a successful hunter.—Photo: L.E.

16

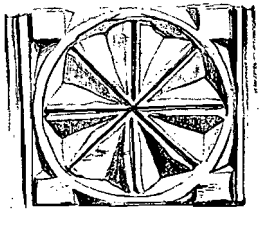


Fig. 12:
Meaning varies from village to village and from informant to informant, but: *mačmal kera*, a warrior rank, 'he is *mačmal-oda*'. (Ghulam Nabi, Nisheigrom, 25 February, 1968.)

17 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, mid-July, 1964.* Ganderik on the verandah in front of her house *(āmā)*. At her feet is a small heap of hay made from grasses and other plants collected on the mountainside. In the centre of the picture, on the left side of Ganderik's verandah, her neighbour leans on the fence separating the two houses.
The railing at the front of the verandah (left of picture) is furnished with carved posts displaying rank symbols, as are most of the verandah railings visible in the background. Under each verandah there is a panel-walled hay-store *(berimganja* or *beringai)*.
Long wooden gutters project from the roof so that rain water running off the house roof will not fall on the roofs of the hay stores.–Photo: L.E.

The most famous of all birds in Nuristan is the Monal, Robertson's Impeyan Pheasant *(Lophophorus impejanus)*. It occupies the zone from the lower oak forest up to 3,000 m, but it is rare to see one. Its whistling call, *ʻlü-dū, ʻlüdū*, can be heard at a great distance, but the sound is difficult to locate. The crest feathers of the cock were a very popular ornament for a warrior's head-dress in the pre-Muslim time (Robertson 1896: 469 and 524). Paludan saw it used as a hat ornament in Nuristan in 1948 (Paludan 1959: 90). Like the markhor, the Monal occupies the thoughts of the Nuristani and those of the people of neighbouring areas (see picture 18a).

Patrolling the mountain slopes from the bottom of the valley to well above the timber line is the Bearded Vulture *(Gypaëtus barbatus)*. It has a huge wing span, brownish colours and yellow head and contributes to the special atmosphere of Nuristan.

For further information regarding birds in Nuristan see Paludan, K. 1959, *On The Birds of Afghanistan*, Vid. Medd. fra Dansk Naturhistorisk Forening, vol. 122, Copenhagen.

III. THE NURISTANI COMMUNITY

The people of Nuristan see themselves as belonging to different groups, membership being determined by various cultural factors. For example, they make a distinction between peoples who live in different valleys. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the languages are different, but within the same valley they also make a distinction between people who live in different villages—not just a distinction based on location, but a value judgement based on reputation. Within each village a distinction is made between peoples belonging to different descent groups. Again, this is not simply identity, but a value in relation to a cultural model (e.g., 'rich—important', 'poor—unimportant'). And within a descent group or 'family' a distinction is made between different individuals. In short, Nuristani society is much like societies everywhere.

But what are the implications of these distinctions? They indicate certain important cultural attitudes based on an evaluation or perception of the status and prestige of individuals and groups. It is a technique for classifying people according to birth, sex, age, group membership, occupation, and reputation. Sometimes a status may be earned; often it is based on circumstances beyond the individual's control.

Nuristani society is divided into groups, but the boundaries of these social groups are by no means always obvious and can often only be discovered by investigation. In the first place, Nuristani people see themselves as belonging to different classes: an individual is either a member, by birth, of a free land-owning and livestock herding class or he is not. If not, he is socially and politically at a dis-

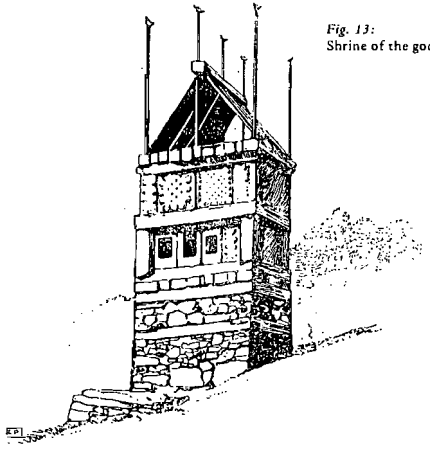


Fig. 13:
Shrine of the goddess *Dizane* (From Robertson 1898: 89).

18 *Tsamgal, Upper Waigal Valley, 10 July, 1970.* Hay-store in the coniferous zone surrounded by maize fields that have been fenced against grazing herds and flocks. These fields are too far up the valley to be reached every day from the village. Therefore the hay-store also serves as summer living quarters for part of the family. This type of building, limited to the Ashkun—Waigali areas, is the only kind in Nuristan with a pitched roof. The rafters of the roof are shaped like huge crochet hooks and rest upon a ridge beam. The ridge post is visible in the gable. The rafters are kept together with wickerwork and finally thatched with reeds. A ladder leads to the hay-store, which in this case is two-storeyed and furnished with a verandah.—Photo: L.E.

18

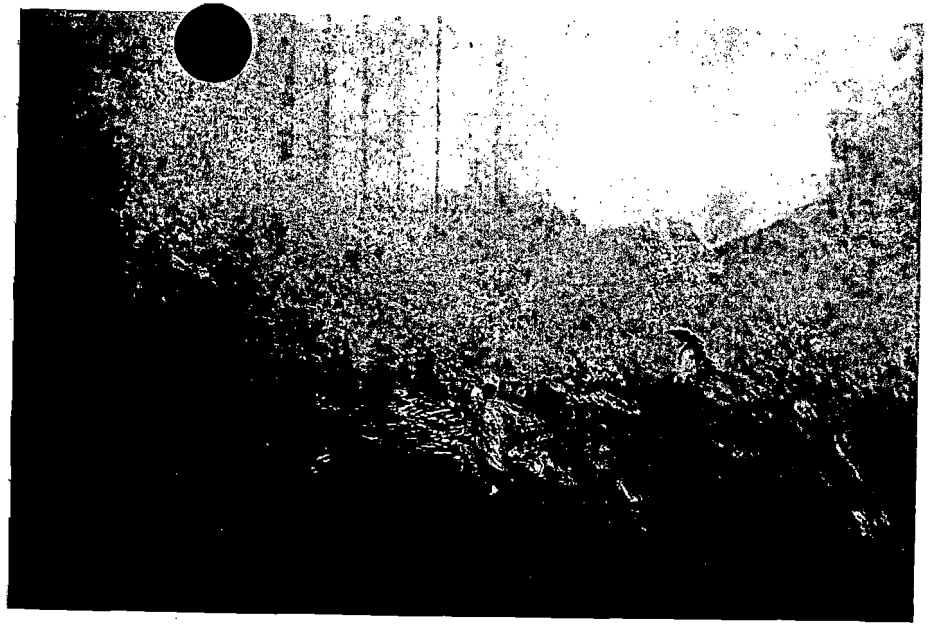
18a

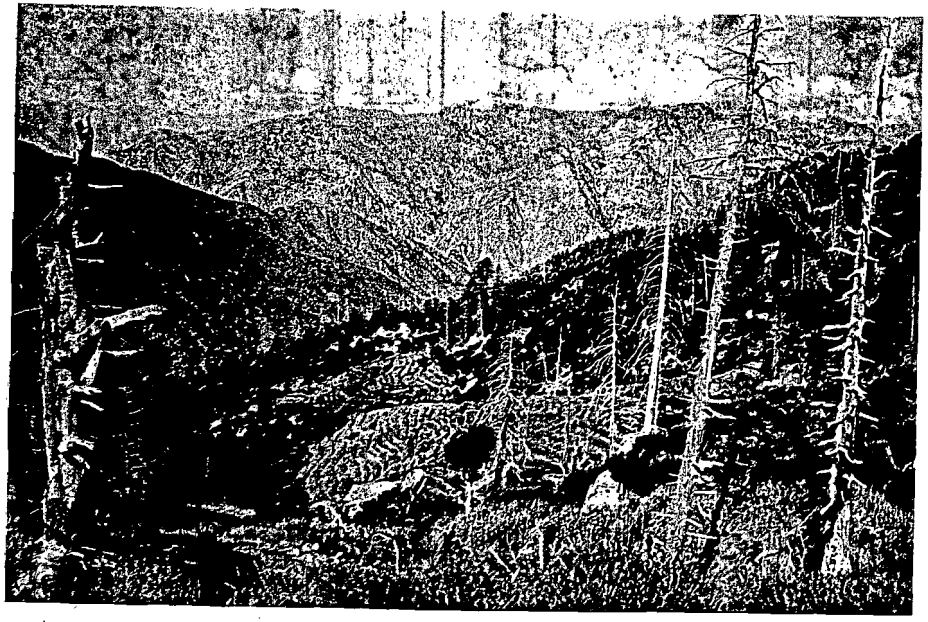
The Monal or Impeyan Pheasant (see p. 43) plays an important rôle in Nuristani tradition. Some of the wooden carvings represent its crest feathers (see picture 145). In Kurdar, which has a 'Nuristani' appearance, though the people speak Pashai, we tape-recorded a *hanan'i* or 'killing song' in 1953 (see Edelberg 1956: 43 and Alvad, List 1). It was originally sung by a man who had just killed an adversary in the mountains:

"You are like the seven-coloured pheasant
But I—what can I do?
I have nowhere to settle and this country
Has lost its meaning for me.
You are beautiful like the mountain flowers!
But behold what grief is yours
Now your lips become dry."

Monal illus. courtesy
Western Publishing Co.
Racine, Wisconsin.

18a





dvantage in Nuristani society, for he then belongs by virtue of birth to one of the craftsm es, membership of which automatically gives him a low status.

Craftsmen do not, as a rule, own livestock and they own but little arable land. They are the builders, carvers, weavers, potters, smiths, and tanners of Nuristan. Their place in the economic life of a village is of extreme importance to the community as a whole, and yet this importance is not given social recognition.

Class boundaries are maintained by rules. These are of two kinds: those which minimize social contact between groups (e.g., a prohibition on eating together), and those which prohibit marriage between groups. In other words, the rules are designed to maintain social distance. They are necessary to the class system, otherwise the distinction between one group and another becomes blurred and eventually will disappear. In Nuristan, a man belongs to the craftsman class because his father belongs to it and he must find a wife from a family of craftsmen just as his father did.

These different classes are not found in every village in Nuristan; in some villages there are no families of craftsmen. In yet other villages there are three distinct classes: the land-owning livestock-herding elite, a class of skilled craftsmen, and a class of unskilled craftsmen.

In addition to these class divisions, Nuristani society is further sub-divided into clans, and each of these, in turn, contains various lineages. Each lineage is further sub-divided into branches composed of closely-related families. These groups are important, as they provide the basis for social, economic, and political organization in Nuristan. They determine where one's allegiance lies, who one's enemies are, who one cooperates with, and who one competes with.

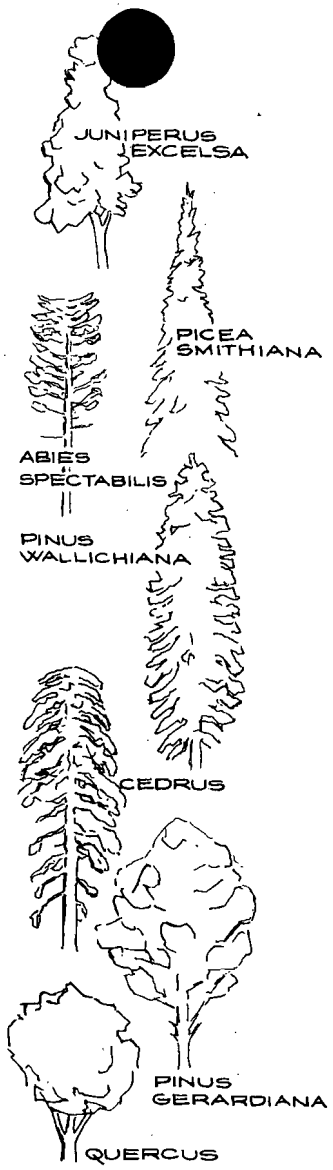
The rights, duties, and obligations of the individual throughout life are largely determined, shaped, and protected by lineage membership. This membership is normally determined by birth: one is a member of a particular lineage because one's father was a member of it. But it is also possible for both individuals and groups to be adopted into a lineage and thereby become full members of it. If there should be any question in regard to inheritance or grazing rights, or whatever, some older man or woman will no doubt be able to recite a genealogy proving the various relationships and connections. In the case of adoption, the genealogies are adjusted, and because of this, later generations may not know that adoption has taken place.

Thus far we have spoken of statuses which are ascribed on the basis of birth. Other types of status may be achieved—provided always that one belongs to the land-owning and livestock-herding elite. Nuristani culture exludes members of the craftsmen classes from competing for higher status.

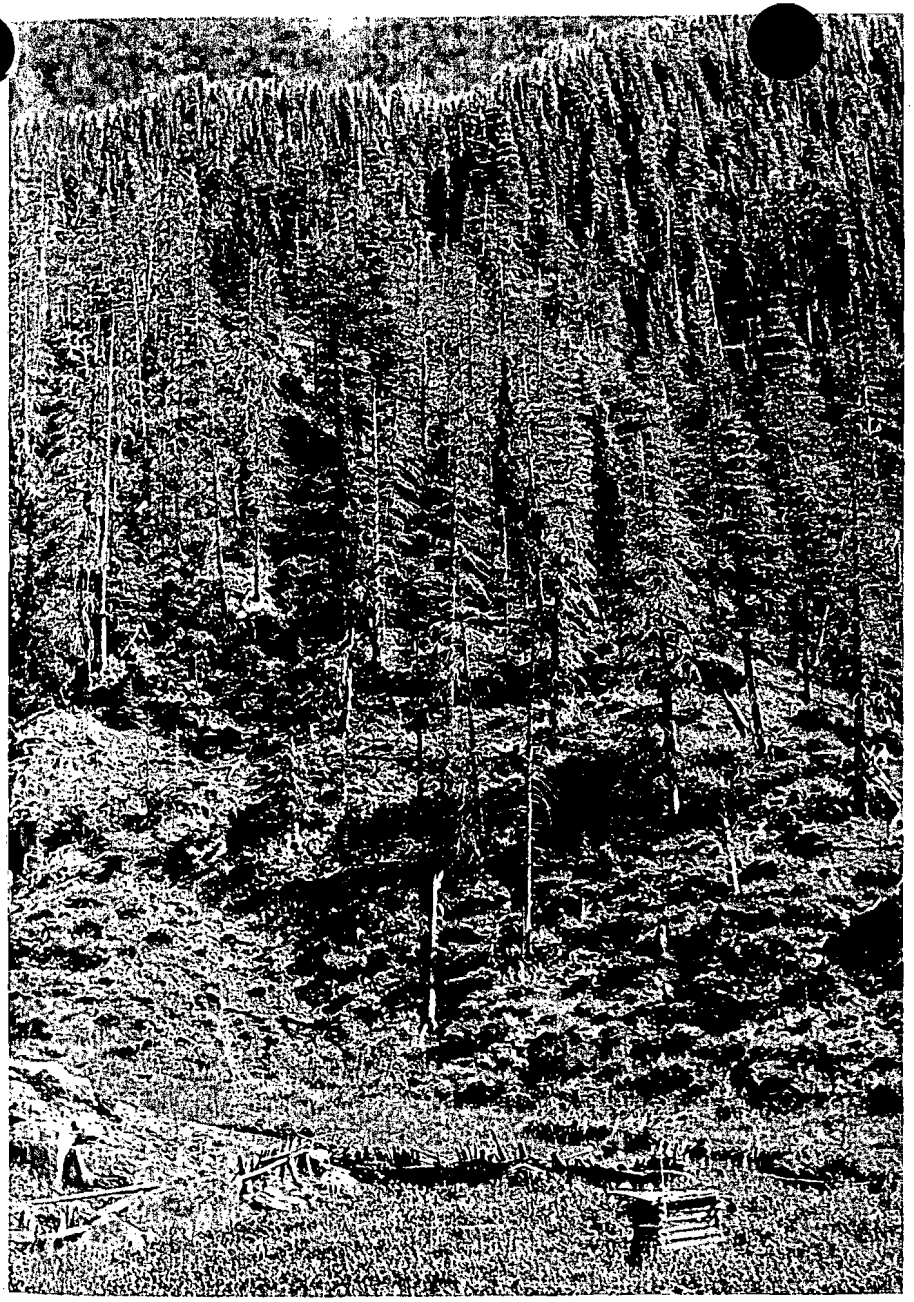
Traditionally there were two ways in which a member of the elite could compete for higher status: by being a successful warrior (success being measured by the number of enemies killed), and by the giving of public feasts. Both systems were formally organized so that warriors and feast-givers each had a regulated series of ranks which they could attempt to acquire. The requirements for each rank were publicly known and each rank had a name and carried with it certain prerogatives.

21 *Ameshdesh, Waigal Valley, August, 1967.* Even at the driest seasons of the year clouds frequently gather over the Hindu Kush, keeping the moisture content of the air relatively high and thus greatly influencing the vegetation of the area.—Photo: S.J.

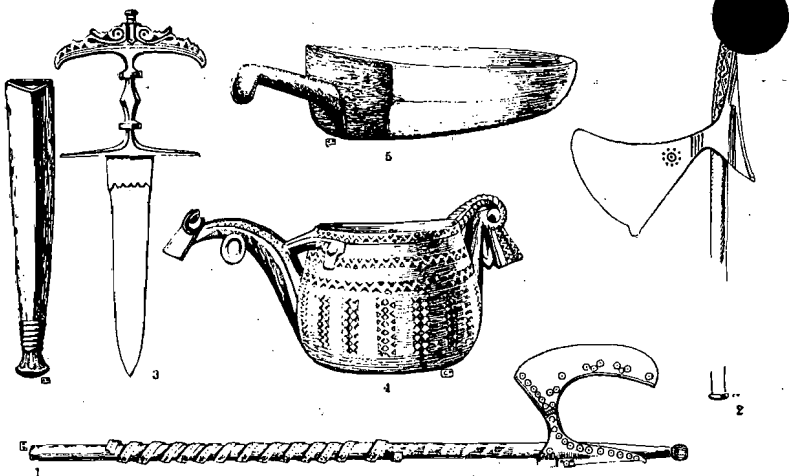
22 *Near Chimi, Waigal Valley, 10 August, 1967.* Terraced maize fields in the forest above Chimi. As more grain is grown—and there is evidence that arable agriculture is expanding year by year—more trees must be destroyed.—Photo: S.J.



Outline sketches showing the characteristic appearance of the most common trees in Nuristan. They are arranged here in correct relation to each other, i. e., corresponding to the forest zones of the Hindu Kush (see section on Vegetation, p. 31, and the Forest Map, p. 32).



23 *Tsamgal, 10 July, 1970.* Fenced maize-fields and a watchman's hut in the bottom of the valley.
The mountainside is covered with coniferous forest, mainly composed of deodar cedar, a high percentage of which are dead. The reason for this is usually fire —either accidental or caused by burning to clear the fields. Often, however, the forests of Nuristan are destroyed for the purpose of making grassland for the livestock (see also picture 154).—Photo: L.E.



Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXVII, Plate VII.

Fig. 14:

1. Dancing Axe (KAZHA) used by RÁMGUL Káfirs, shaft of wood, spiral ornament and knob at top made of brass, as is also the blade, used exclusively for ornamental and ceremonial purposes.
2. Dancing Axe (KAZHA) used by BASHGUL Káfirs, shaft of wood, carved, upper end tipped above with brass, below with iron. The blade is of good steel with one or two brass studs for ornament, and when struck with the finger nail should emit a particular sound. These axes also are only used for ceremonial purposes or as symbols of dignity. They are highly valued and descend as heirloooms from father to the son who succeeds as head of family.
3. Dagger (KATIR). The national weapon of the Káfir. Handle (KATIR MUSHT) iron; sheath (SHPIK) wood enclosed in iron or brass, except at back, often ornamented with silver studs; blade (PRUS) good steel, edge (AZHI) double point (CHÚR) strong. Used for every purpose for which a sharp-edged implement can be employed—for fighting, for a butcher's knife, for cutting food, etc., etc.
4. Vessel for holding ghee (clarified butter). It is called in Káfir GANOLKALCHIK. Made of walnut wood elaborately carved. It is used as a domestic utensil and also at sacrifices to contain the ghee with which the fire is made to flare up.
5. Winnowing scoop (SHURUK) made of any wood. Unornamented. Used by women.

(From Robertson 1898: 88)

"In order to show how many people they have killed, each man erects a high pole on the outskirts of his village, with a rude figure of a man on the top of it. For every man he kills he bores a hole in it and knocks in a peg. If he kills a woman, he bores only a hole, without any peg. A Bahadur or Surunwali always occupies the highest place at feasts, and receives a double portion."

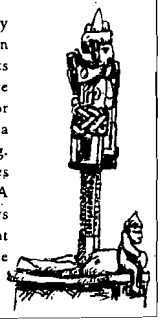


Fig. 15:
The notched pole supporting the male memorial figure (see picture 24) is significant. See above quote from Fazl Haq and Nurulla 1865 and 1878: 730.

24 *Bomboret, Chitral, 1895.* This photograph, taken by B.E.M. Gurdon and never before published, shows a group of Kafirs standing by wooden memorial figures commemorating a woman (left, with horned cap, seated on a chair) and a warrior (right, seated on top of a plinth). A small figure, probably playing a flute, sits beneath the warrior's feet (see Robertson 1896: 651).—Photo from the India Office Library, London.

25 *Bomboret, Chitral, 1895.* A group of Kafir warriors pose with their ceremonial axes by an altar stone in the village. On the ground in front of the altar is a Kafir harp. The man seated to the left of the altar (probably a *bāri* craftsman) holds another harp. These men are perhaps a delegation which went to Chitral to ask the British for help against the invading armies of Abdur Rahman Khan.—Photo: B.E.M. Gurdon, from the India Office Library, London.

These 'gl[illegible]prizes' were much sought-after in pre-Muslim times for, as a man acquired higher rank, so his status and prestige were enhanced in the community. In time, he could reasonably expect to become a man of influence with an important rôle in the affairs of his community.

The political activities of such men constituted government at village and inter-village levels in Nuristan for traditionally there are no chiefs, headmen, or other officials occupying positions of authority. The affairs of each community are guided by men of influence who test public opinion, confer among themselves, reach decisions by consensus, and then do what they can to persuade their fellow villagers to follow the suggested course of action.

For the most part, village affairs in Nuristan are still run in this way today. The Government of Afghanistan has, however, superimposed on this traditional organization an administrative framework which forms part of a national system.

Afghanistan is divided into 26 provinces *(Wilayat).* Each province has a Governor *(Wali).* Each province is divided into districts of which there are four types: (1) Provincial Centres *(Markaz-i-Wilayat);* (2) Sub-Provinces *(Loy Woluswali);* (3) Districts *(Woluswali);* and (4) Sub-Districts *(Alaqadari).* As a result of this administrative arrangement, Eastern Nuristan lies in Nangarhar Province and Western Nuristan falls within the boundaries of Laghman Province. The significance of this in the day-to-day affairs of villagers is slight, unless they should find themselves in difficulties with Afghan officials, in which case their geographical location determines which officials they will have to deal with and, if it comes to that, which Court will hear the case.

Although warrior ranks are no longer achieved by ambitious young men in Nuristan, public feasts are still given in many villages each year. For the most part, these are obligatory funeral feasts, but occasionally an influential man will give a special feast which has the effect of enhancing his status in the community. Such feasts are expensive, as anything from two or three hundred to two or three thousand people may attend. The requirements are met by an elaborate system of loans and exchanges within the lineage concerned. Individuals give goats, cheese, ghee, or grain because they have received such foodstuffs on earlier occasions, and expect to receive them on later occasions. As a lineage member, one has the right to receive and the corresponding obligation to give.

The important men in Nuristan today are those who, having reached mature years, have gradually gained a reputation in the community for wisdom, for being good speakers, for being hospitable, for giving wise counsel, and for living up to other cultural standards. Such men are invited to mediate in disputes and it is where disputes are settled that political influence in Nuristan is to be found.

In recent years more and more Nuristani children have begun to attend school. Most schools are still held in the village mosque and are regularly attended by only a small minority of boys. But as early as 1960 the first girls' school was going in Kamdesh and almost every year brings more opportunities for formal education to Nuristani villages. These changes have also brought problems: many adults question the advantages of sending their sons and daughters to the village school, others are interested only if the local school can take their sons far enough to enable them to enrol in boarding schools outside Nuristan. The main conflict seems to be between the parents' view of what their sons will do in life and the parents' perception of the extent to which the school can help achieve this. Two or three years of local school is generally regarded as a waste of time. An oft-heard complaint in Nuristan is that of the father who said, "What they have learned is of no use in the village, and while they have been learning it, they have been kept from learning what *is* of use."

In some villages there seems to be a conflict in the minds of parents who think that form[illegible]ca-tion has its advantages, but still want their children to follow the traditional life of the village and the mountains. At the present time, given the nature of formal education in Nuristan, these two wants appear to be incompatible. Realizing this, a few fathers have tried to solve the problem by keeping one or two sons at home to learn the management of family affairs, and sending one or two sons away to school to learn Persian and Pushtu and other skills needed in Afghanistan today. In 1968-69 nearly 100 boys from Waigal Valley alone were regularly attending school outside Nuristan—most of them in Kabul. Two of these were undergraduates at Kabul University (see Jones 1974: 240–249).

If a majority of parents in Nuristan adopt the view that regular schooling will provide their children with better chances in life, then rapid and profound changes will come to Nuristan. Another possible source of rapid change—not only for the traditional culture, but for the landscape itself—would be improved communications, especially the construction of motor roads.

IV. AGRICULTURE

In Nuristan there is a strict divison of labour; men and women have very different economic responsibilities. A man will not normally engage in 'women's work' any more than a woman will normally have anything to do with what is regarded as 'man's work'. This division of labour exactly matches the two main spheres of the Nuristani economy: transhumant livestock herding—men's work—and cereal production on irrigated hill terraces—women's work.

On the Southern slopes of the Hindu Kush in Eastern Afghanistan between 34° N. lat. and 36° N. lat. most of the land lying below 1,500 m is very hot and extremely dry for most of the year. Because of climatic conditions and human activity, the natural vegetation is sparse. This severely restricts animal husbandry, and arable agriculture is also limited, being confined to river valleys where irrigation is possible. The people of Nuristan are particularly fortunate as the territory they inhabit is for the most part not only well above 1,500 m altitude, but it lies far enough East to receive moisture from the fringes of the Indian summer monsoon. Because of this, much of Nuristan, unlike the rest of Afghanistan, is well covered with trees.

The preparation of arable land, therefore, starts with forest clearing. This is mainly men's work. Big oaks and coniferous trees are lopped and burnt at the base or ringed and may stand dead for years after the terraced fields have been built (see picture 22).

The characteristic relief of Nuristan being one of high mountain ridges separated from one another by deep narrow V-shaped valleys, the fields for arable agriculture are small and must be laboriously constructed by in-filling to a horizontal level behind stone walls and then, because rainfall is insufficient, watered by a complicated system of open irrigation channels and wooden aqueducts leading from the rivers or, more commonly, from the tributary streams. The wooden aqueducts are technically admirable, having been constructed by skillful craftsmen, the *bāri*. (See pictures 10 and 75).

The terraced fields, edged by low earthen balks, are sub-divided into small shallow basins into which the irrigation water is led. There are small openings in the balks stopped up with soil, which is removed while the basin is filled with water (see picture 13). Then the soil is replaced and the neighbouring basin filled up. These balks are rebuilt each Spring *after* sowing. The wheat or millet often grows rather densely on such balks because they have been made by scraping soil together from the surface of the field. Sometimes beans or peas are planted on these balks, so that the crop growing in the basin is surrounded by a row of pulses.

26 *Waigal Village (Berimdesh), 2 March, 1968.* A winter game is played on a convenient rooftop in the village. A white marker stone, being studied here by the players, is placed at either end of the pitch. Each player has two sticks, which he throws from one end of the pitch to the other. The object of the game is to throw the sticks so that they come to rest as close to the white marker stone as possible. In this picture the results of the last throw are being judged.—Photo: S.J.

27 *Waigal Village (Berimdesh), 2 March, 1968.* When the score has been noted, each player collects his sticks and the next round is played. Here two players await their turn while the third makes his first throw.—Photo: S.J.

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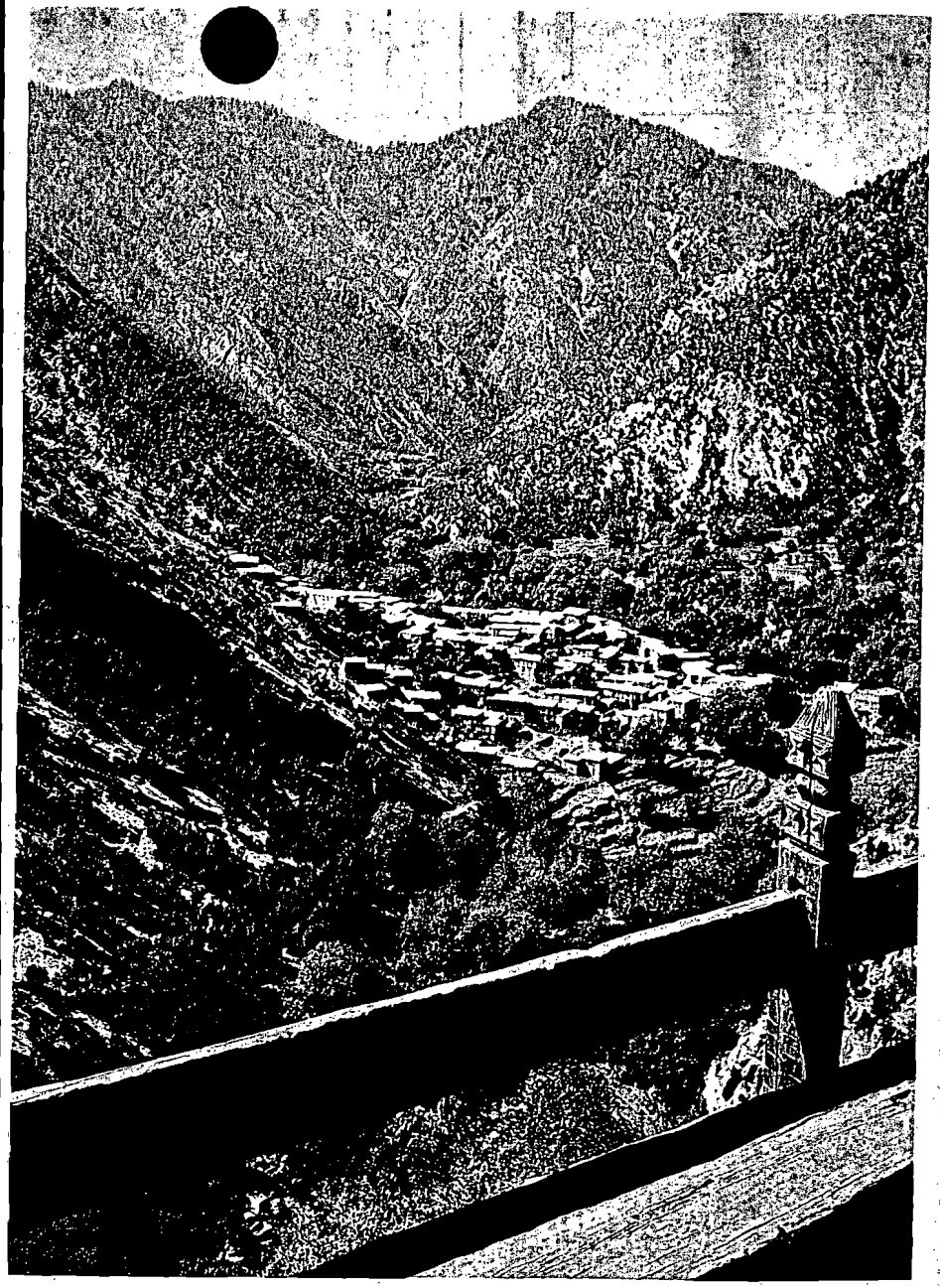


28 *Waigal Village (Berimdesh), August, 1969.* The lower part of Waigal Village, called Bergele, Berimdesh or Bromdesh, as seen from Perinta or Waramdesh, the upper part. The terraced fields in the river valley are shaded by deciduous fruit trees, mainly mulberry and walnut. The railing in the foreground is part of a *wrikâ* or *sagam*—a public platform with benches (see picture 128).—Photo: S.J.

Mulberry and walnut trees are often allowed to grow up even on small terraces, and th[illegible]hen when working will carefully avoid harming a little sprout of such trees, as when grown they will give a partial shade and add to the humidity of the air as well as providing a welcome addition to the diet.

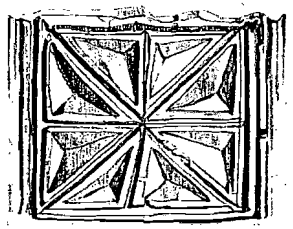
In the Parun Valley and the upper Bashgal Valley, because of glaciation, the narrow V-shaped valleys open up to relatively broad U-shaped valleys where much larger and slightly sloping fields can be farmed and there is at least one favourably situated village—Kamdesh—which is surrounded by extensive acreages of easily won sloping fields. But even here irrigation is necessary owing to the general lack of ground water. Everywhere in Nuristan arable land is only gained and sustained through a heavy investment of time and labour.

Cereal production is the foundation of economic well-being in Nuristan; cereals are the staple foods of the region. The choice of grain for planting and the amount of land planted varies according to several different factors which, at this level of technology, act to control arable agriculture in Nuristan. In these latitudes (35° N.) every 100 metres of altitude produces different conditions affecting grain production. A woman whose fields lie at 2,200 m above sea level faces very different conditions to one whose fields are at 1,800 m. There is, for example, no rice grown anywhere in Nuristan as all the arable land farmed by Nuristanis lies above the limits of rice production. Because of this, rice must be purchased outside Nuristan and carried in. Its scarcity has made it a high-status food—what every host would like to be able to offer an honoured guest. Since rice is locally unavailable, a rice substitute—millet—is grown. Nuristanis often refer to millet (Wg: *kāc)* as 'our rice'.

In terms of quantity and the rôle it plays as a staple food, millet is the most important grain grown in Nuristan. Millet in Nuristan includes different varieties of Common Millet *(Panicum miliaceum),* 'Italian Millet' *(Setaria italica),* and Durra *(Andropogon sorghum).* The Nuristani distinguish 32 different kinds, each with a special name. Millet grows well from about 1,700 m up to Shtiwe in Parun Valley at 2,800 m, where the people distinguish between red millet *(rək)* and white *(üǰ'ü).* Growing conditions can vary greatly depending on whether the fields are on North or South facing slopes and the availability of sufficient water for irrigation.

The most desirable grain grown in Nuristan is wheat: Soft Wheat *(Triticum vulgare)*—winter wheat, as well as summer wheat. Winter wheat is sown until late October in rotation with maize or beans (D.i.H. 1937: 117), and only in the lower parts of the V-shaped valleys, e.g., in the Pech Valley below Wama, and in the Bashgal Valley in and below Kamdesh. An informant in Kamu explained: "We

Fig. 16:
Meaning varies according to village and informant, but: *kolik čitr* or *korə čitr*, 'rank ornament' (The Malik of Zhönchigal, 27 August, 1969).



plant winter w[illegible]he Autumn. It is harvested in early Summer and then we plant maize on those fields. After the maize is harvested we leave the field fallow until next Spring. We do not plant wheat on the same fields two years running. If we do, the second crop will be weak." Sometimes, after the maize harvest, winter wheat is sown on the same fields (Danish State Film Central 1958).

In the Parun Valley summer wheat is grown, but in fairly limited quantities. In Shtiwe they distinguish between *gur-ulyum,* red wheat, and *kiš-ulyum,* white wheat. In Western Nuristan Hard Wheat *(Triticum durum)* is found (D.i.H. 1937: 77). It would be tempting to interpret this isolated occurrence by reference to the fact that Amir Abdur Rahman forced the Western Kafirs to move to the Logar Valley South of Kabul, and only after 40 years were they able to return. But hard wheat is not found anywhere in Afghanistan outside of Nuristan (Vavilov and Bukinich 1929: 567), so the converts to Islam cannot have brought it from Logar.

From the evidence available it seems certain that maize was first introduced into Nuristan about the year 1900, following the Afghan invasion and the conversion of the population to Islam. It also seems certain that, although the people of Nuristan do not particularly like maize, they have slowly but steadily been planting more and more of it over the years, until it is now a major crop in most areas, second only to millet. The main reason for the increased planting of maize is security. Wheat, barley, and particularly millet, are vulnerable to storm damage, and to the depredations of birds and monkeys. A late summer thunderstorm can completely destroy the millet crop—first by flattening the stalks and then by carrying the grain away in the run-off. Maize is relatively immune to this kind of damage. Birds, and even monkeys, can scarcely get at the maize kernels, while a maize field flattened by a storm in August or early September can still be harvested without loss.

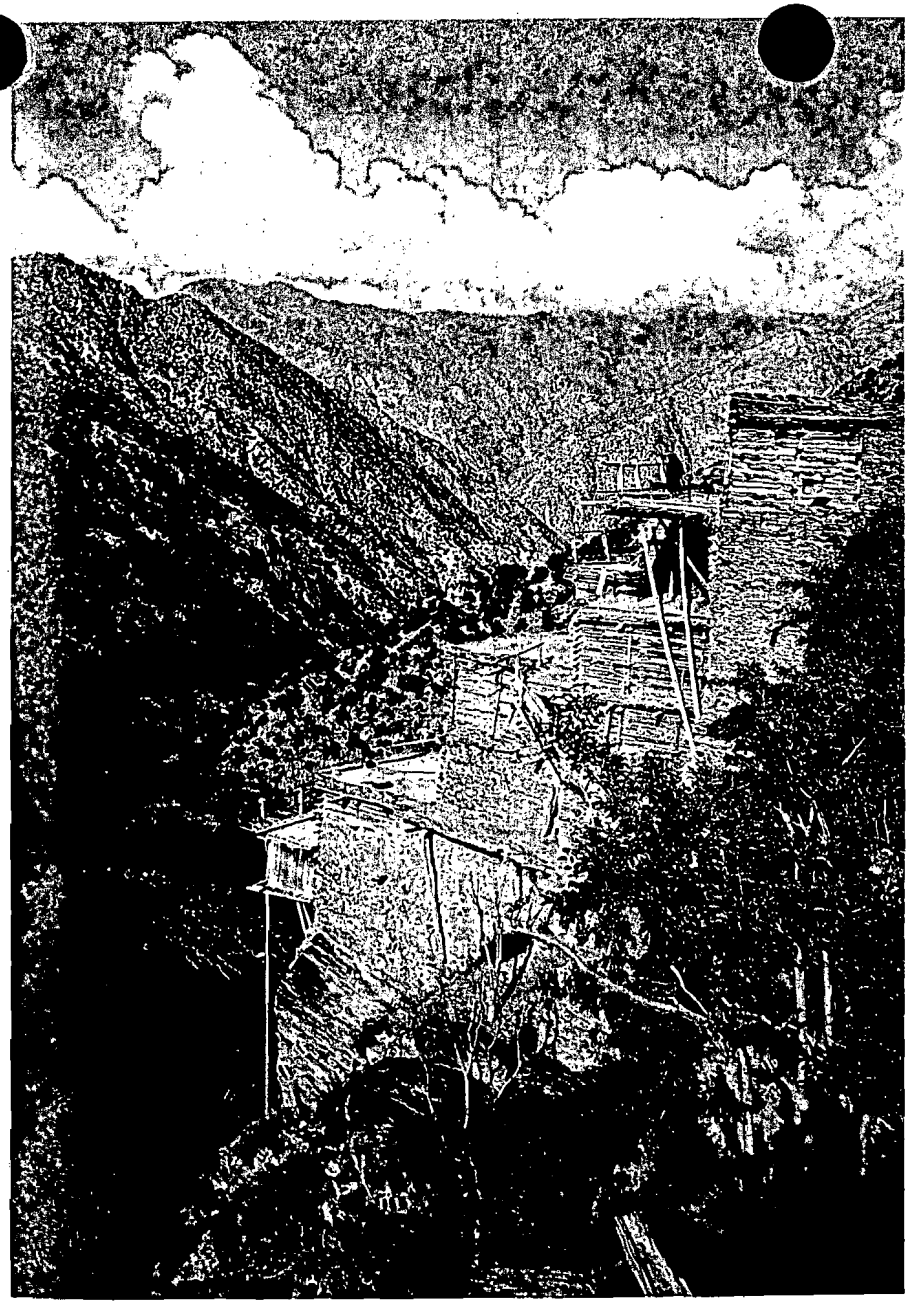
The highest fields are normally sown with summer barley, as this grain can take the cooler growing conditions and still mature in a shorter growing season. Barley is frequently sown mixed with peas in rotation with millet *(Panicum miliaceum).* Hull-less Barley has been found, but only in the Ashkun area (D.i.H. 1937: 80 and Edelberg, Collection of Seeds of Cultivated Plants, No. 61 from Achenu).

A generalized view, then, of cereal production in Nuristan is one in which the lowest fields are planted to winter wheat, the highest are planted to barley, and the 'middle' fields are devoted to maize and millet.

The attitudes of the people of Nuristan to the various cereals is reflected in the cultural values they attach to these foods. If a man is host to an important guest he will make every effort to serve, together with goat's meat or mutton, some rice and bread made of wheat flour, even if he must go to great trouble to borrow from kinsmen. If the guest is not someone the host feels he must impress, then millet *(Setaria italica)* can safely be substituted for rice and the bread may be made of a mixture of

29 *Kegal, Waigal Valley, August, 1967.* Here one can see the way in which steep rocky slopes are used as sites for house building in Nuristan. This practice causes construction problems, but avoids wasting good agricultural land. The mountain slopes down the valley are covered with evergreen oak. Terraced fields and fruit trees are visible below the lower house.—Photo: S.J.

30 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, September, 1960.* On the verandah of her home a craftsman's wife weaves a goat hair rug. The loom is set up by tying it to the conveniently spaced posts that support the verandah roof. The woman moves the shuttle through the shed, space being made by placing the weaving sword edge-ways. The hand beater lies ready under her elbow to hammer down the woof (weft). The heddle-shaft is on a level with her forehead; so is the shed-stick. Branches of evergreen oak lie in the foreground ready for use in the household fire.—Photo: S.J.



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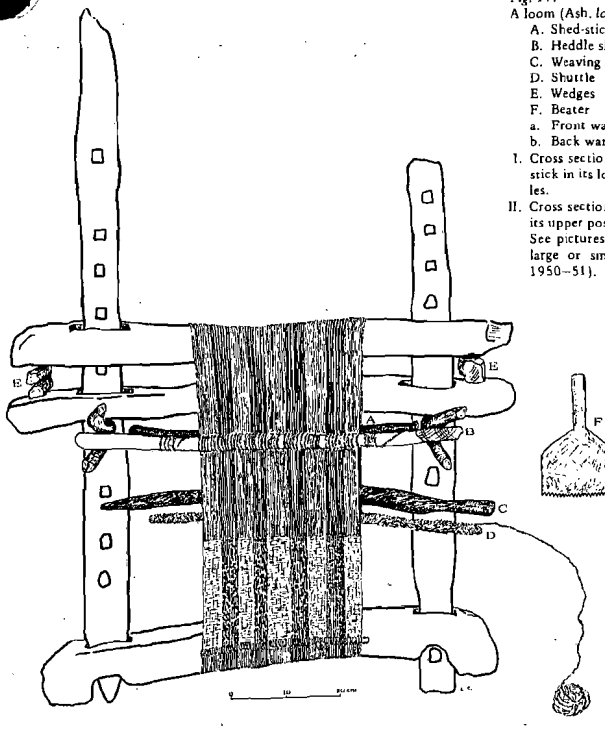

Fig. 17:
A loom (Ash. *lolr*) from Wama, Pech Valley, May, 1948.
A. Shed-stick
B. Heddle shaft (heddle-rod)
C. Weaving sword
D. Shuttle
E. Wedges
F. Beater
a. Front warp
b. Back warp
I. Cross section of loom as shown in drawing with shed-stick in its lower position immediately over the heddles.
II. Cross section of loom with the shed-stick moved to its upper position.
See pictures 30 and 31. Looms in Nuristan, whether large or small, work on this principle (Andersen 1950–51).

31 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, late September, 1953.* A *bāri* woman in Abresh is weaving puttees. Abresh is the south-western part of the village where the craftsmen live. She has moved the shuttle from the right side through the shed in the warp and now with the beater she is hammering the weft (woof) tight. Having done so—and before she moves the shuttle from the left,—she needs to form the new shed. This is done by moving the horizontal stick, the shed-stick, on the upper side of the heddle shaft to a high position. The wooden weaving sword seen at the height of her right hand is a secondary help: It is stuck through the shed and then turned on edge so as to make room for the shuttle to be moved through the shed.
Puttees are used by men in the Ashkun-Waigali area, together with short trousers.—Photo: K.F.

32 *Zhönchigal, mid-July, 1964.* A farmer's wife is spinning on her roof-top towards dusk. Spinning—in contrast to weaving—can be done by any woman, *atrožan* or *bāri*.

millet *(Panicum miliaceum)* and maize flour or a mixture of millet and pulse. In Parun Valley bread made of barley and peas is especially appreciated (D.i.H. 1937: 112). Nuristanis regard bread made of maize flour as inferior and it is only offered to guests with apologies in times of great shortage when nothing else is available. Bread is also sometimes made of dried mulberries.

Soups in Nuristan are mostly made by cooking different kinds of pulse, which are considered to be the main source of protein in the area (D.i.H. 1937: 113, 'atschim'. Morgenstierne 1954: 221, *ačim*, bean).

The high fertility of Nuristani fields is largely due to the intensive use of manure. The manure from the winter stables and the refuse from the privies of the village, carefully mixed with leaves, is carried out by the women every Spring in their conical baskets and spread on the fields—primarily the maize and eventually the millet fields. In Parun Valley the manure may be spread on the snow cover in early Spring to accelerate the melting and to let the melt water bring the manure quickly into the soil. Here they also spread coniferous needles on the surface of the sloping fields to retain the humidity (D.i.H. 1937: 119).

Both the calendar year and the agricultural year begin in Spring, approximately at the vernal equinox. Each village in Nuristan has its own calendar. This is not surprising when we consider that each village has its own special circumstances—it is higher or lower than other villages; it faces South, or East, or some other direction; it is located down in the valley, or it is sited on a high spur well above the river. Since Nuristani villages are well spaced out, being anything from an hour's to two or three hours' walk apart, no two villages share the same setting and each is surrounded by a different mountainous skyline. These circumstances, combined with the fact that villages are economically independent of one another, has contributed to cultural differences, among them, different calendar systems. Detailed information about these calendar systems and their rôle in Nuristani culture can be found in Lentz 1939, Edelberg 1972, and Jones 1974.

One can speculate that it is the need to regulate agricultural activities and, in pre-Muslim times, the need to synchronize religious festivals, that has given rise to these calendar systems. Whatever their cause and origin, let us consider their function in agricultural affairs today by giving some examples. In Waigal Valley the Nuristani year can be represented by a circle of 360 days divided into quarters of 90 days each. The New Year begins approximately at the vernal equinox (ca. 21 March). In some parts of Nuristan the equinoxes are determined when a certain cow gives exactly the same amounts of milk at the morning and evening milking. "Jetzt erfahren wir, daß er [Der Neujahrstag] auf die (Frühlings-) Tagnachtgleiche fällt. Diese erkennt man daran, daß das Vieh früh und abends gleichviel Milch gibt . . ." (Lentz 1939: 33). See also Edelberg 1952: 24.

33 *Zhönchigal, mid-July, 1964.* The sun has set behind the mountains, dusk is near. The women who have worked on the terraced fields hurry homewards, (away from the camera), carrying heavy loads of firewood for the winter or basketfuls of greens. They are met by the women who are going to spend the night at their fields, making full use of their rights to irrigation water. They are coming towards us and bring bundles of split pine-wood with them to be used as torches in the dark. During the night the terraced slopes of a mountainside may be dotted with light from torches moving around in the darkness.—Photo: L.E.

34 *Waigal, Berimdesh, 30 September, 1953.* Roof-tops are practically the only flat places in Nuristan and a lot of activities take place there. Here a woman with her child tied to her back is 'threshing' millet. She keeps her balance with the two long sticks. By turning her feet with quick ankle movements in the heap of millet the kernels are separated from the ears. —Photo: K.F.

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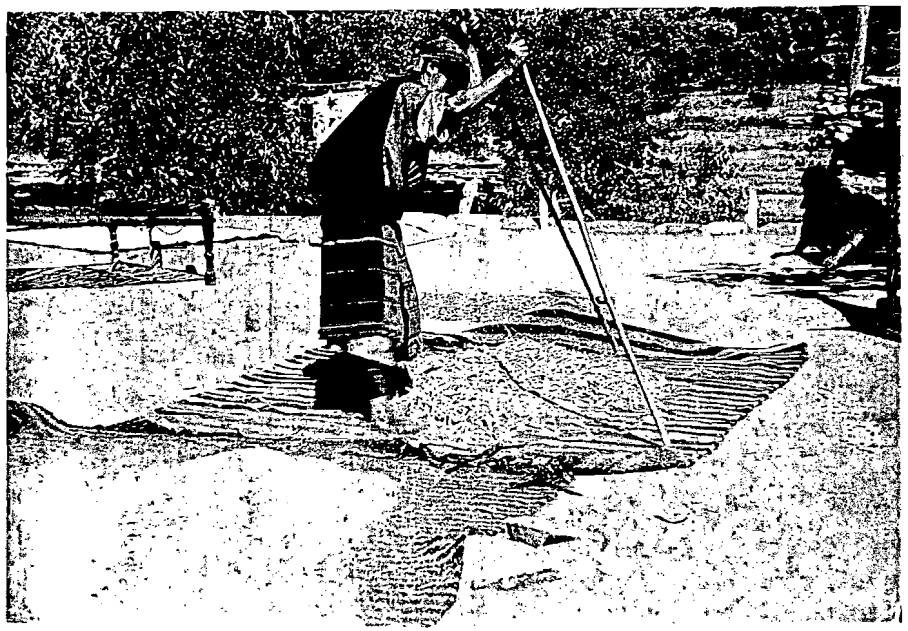

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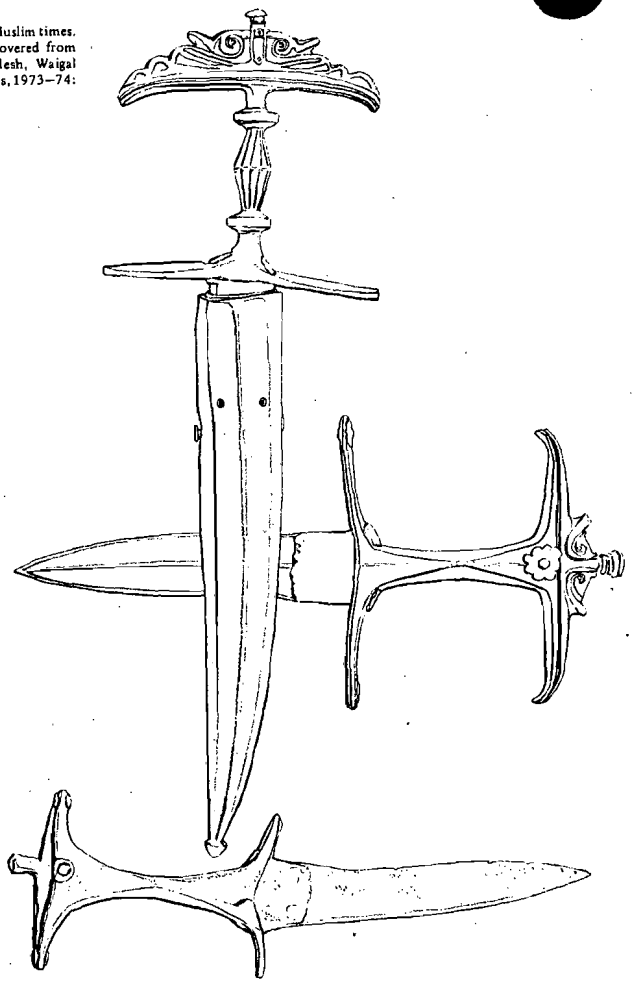
Fig. 18:
Three types of *katara* made in pre-Muslim times. The smallest one (bottom) was recovered from an irrigation channel in Ameshdesh, Waigal Valley, September, 1969. (See Jones, 1973–74: 231–263).



35 *Pech Valley, between Kusht and Wama, late October, 1953.* Man and child in the forest zone between the mountain pastures and the village. The man's dress is typical of the Ashkun-Waigali area today: his shirt is Afghan, as are his sandals. His homespun trousers are Nuristani, and he wears a warrior's dagger *(katara)* in the belt which he got when he ceased to be a boy and became a man. His cap—an influence from Chitral—can be rolled down over his ears when the cold is severe. The boy wears a goat-skin jacket—hairside out when raining, hairside in if dry. He goes barefooted.—Photo: P.R.

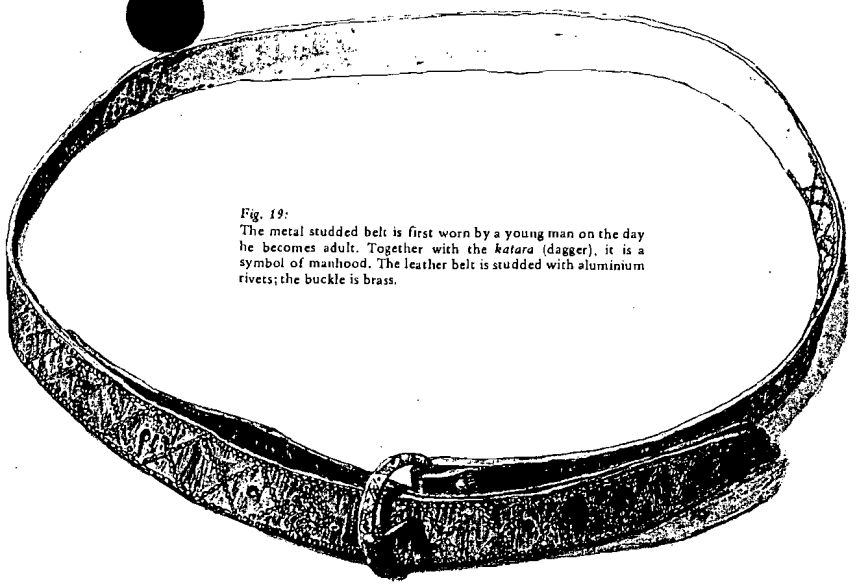
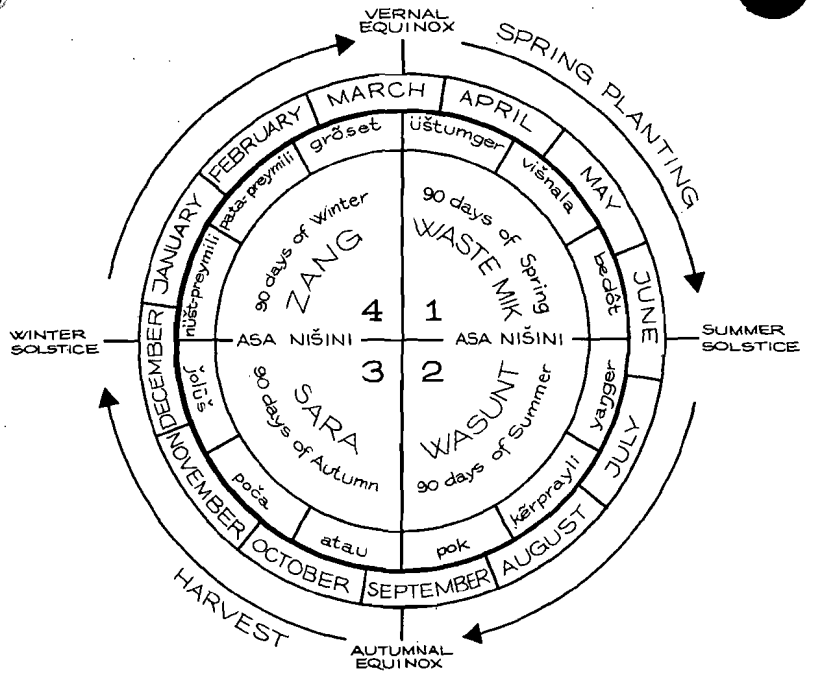


Fig. 19:
The metal studded belt is first worn by a young man on the day he becomes adult. Together with the *katara* (dagger), it is a symbol of manhood. The leather belt is studded with aluminium rivets; the buckle is brass.

In the 90 days following the vernal equinox a great many key agricultural activities get under way. Before describing these, however, it will be useful to understand how, in a pre-literate society, a calendar system actually works. In a modern industrial society a calendar is something one can buy and hang on the wall for reference. In Nuristan one can never see the calendar; it does not exist in a visible form for reference. It is first and foremost an idea—an idea that is discussed by some villagers now and then. It is when they reach an agreement about a certain aspect of this idea that the calendar comes into being. If you ask a villager in Waigal Valley how many months are there in a year, he will hesitate briefly and then answer 12. If you then ask how many days are there in each month, he will again hesitate and then answer somewhat uncertainly, thirty. If you ask what is the month now? he will calculate at some length and will either guess, get in an argument with onlookers, or give up. The reason for his hesitation is not lack of knowledge or understanding, it is because, in daily village life, no one ever asks such questions about the local calendar system; indeed, such questions are largely irrelevant. If one persists in this line of questioning and points out that 12 x 30 is 360 and what about the other five days?, the informant may well answer, 'It is not important'. And, of course, he is right.

In Nuristan hardly anyone ever counts the days—the working of the calendar system does not depend on that. Instead, various men in each village keep track of the progression of the seasons by noting the position of the snow line, the state of the vegetation, the place where the sun appears to rise and set among the surrounding mountain peaks as observed from a fixed point in the village, and, rarely, the phases of the moon. They then get together to discuss or argue about the calendar until they reach a consensus.



The results of these deliberations are then announced to the village and decisions about planting or the movement of livestock or the harvest of fruits are made on that basis. Our calendars are fixed because they are written down and there is no longer any room for discussion.

Traditionally, the first event of Spring in each village is a public meeting at which a group of young men *(māla wřāi / ūndér / ūnderū / ūrū)* are chosen to take on certain responsibilities during Spring, Summer, and Autumn. These responsibilities are concerned with regulating the grazing of livestock, the allocation of water for irrigation, and the harvesting of fruits. These men are given the authority not only to supervise these activities, but to levy fines on those who break the rules. The fines may range from one cheese, to one goat, to one cow, depending on the nature of the offence. The men may keep the fines; they receive no other payment for their work.

When this group of men has been chosen, usually each member from a different lineage or lineage segment, an elder introduces them to the assembled villagers and then publicly instructs the men to work hard and well for the community. The elder next recites the laws of the village: rules governing water allocation, the movement of livestock from winter stables to summer pastures, the fines for crop damage, theft, and the harvest of fruits. The newly chosen men then swear on the Holy Koran that they will uphold the laws of the village. There remain two more important events to start the cycle

of agricultural activities: a cow is killed and divided among the villagers, and the elder who recited the laws walks down to the edge of the village and, taking a skin bag of grain, ritually plants the first field of the year. Prayers are said to ensure a good harvest.

Now the season's work begins in earnest. The irrigation channels must be repaired and cleaned of a winter's accumulation of soil, sand, and leaves. When the terraces have been repaired and the irrigation channels are in order, seed is sown broadcast on the untilled soil, each woman planting her own fields (see picture 7).

An idea of the relative amounts of the different cereals grown is provided by the informant in Jamach (Waigal Valley) who estimated that for every two measures of millet planted, 1/2 measure of maize, and a quarter measure of wheat would be planted, but this varies greatly from village to village.

When the fields have been sown, the women, working in pairs, start to till the soil using a traction fork (see picture 15), most of the fields in Nuristan being much too small and located on slopes too steep to permit ploughing. The use of plows is confined to larger fields on more level terrain, e.g., in parts of the Bashgal Valley, and in Pitigil, Ktiwi, and the Parun Valley. The type of plough (or, more correctly, ard) used is indigenous to Nuristan. It is characterized by the fact that two men plough with one ox, one occupied with keeping the plough share in the soil, the other with guiding the ox by means of a long yoke (see picture 126, and Edelberg 1968).

The rules of water allocation vary from village to village, but a common rule is for fields to be watered in turn, starting with the top fields on a particular slope and working down to the lowest fields. Each woman is responsible for watering her own terraces and, since watering goes on 24 hours a day throughout the summer, some women are always to be found on the mountain slopes. At night they pass to and from the village, lighting their way with burning pine torches, and singing songs.

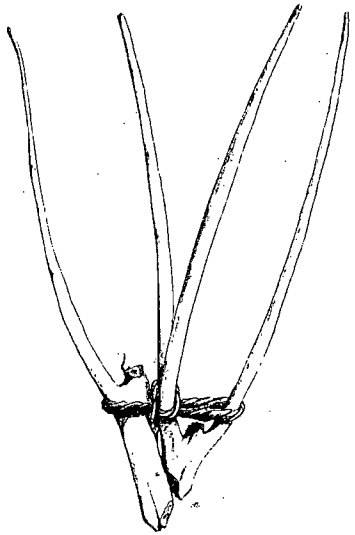
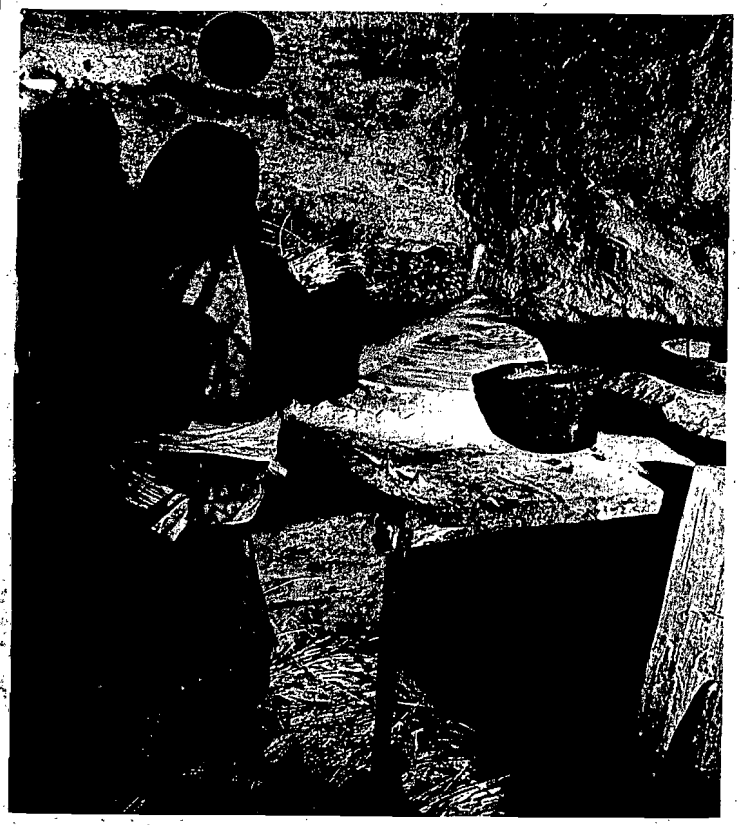
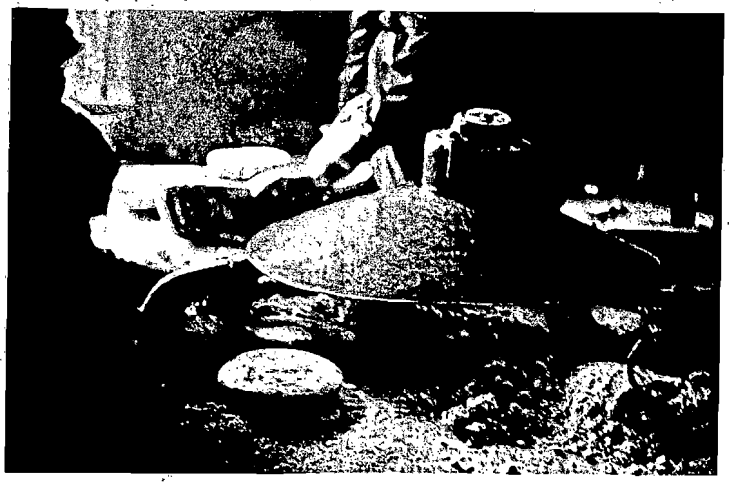


Fig. 20:
When men are working in the alpine pastures and want to bring a load of fuel or fodder down to the village, they construct a load-carrier on the spot. This is done by cutting two branching pieces of willow and binding the forked stems together with two or three long thin flexible willow twigs.

36 *Keshtagrom, early July, 1970.* A girl comes to the village with a basketful of firewood. Oak branches are considered to be better firewood than pine or cedar. Just as a host offers his guest wheat bread, rather than millet, he will burn oak if he can manage it, because it gives less smoke in the room.
The girl's dress is clearly influenced by the Pakhtun women's dress with coins attached to the front.
The traditional Siah Posh cloak made of black wool is less common today in the Lower Bashgal. In the upper Bashgal, and in the Shkorigul and Ktiwi Valley it is still in use—probably because the winter is very cold there or simply because it is more remote.
—Photo: L.E.





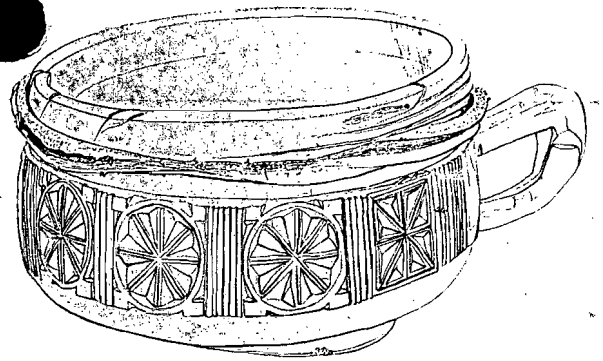


Fig. 21:
Kavor, a wooden bowl for mi[illegible]ad dough. A rawhide strip has been bound round the rim of this specimen to prevent the bowl from splitting further. Height: 15 cm. Diameter: 25 cm.

The main tasks of the women throughout the summer are weeding and watering the fields (see pictures 12 and 13), but they also take care of their children, cut firewood, collect hay and greens, grind the cereals (picture 37), prepare meals, and clean house. On every trip back from the mountains where she has been watering and weeding most of the day, a woman will bring a load of firewood (picture 33). As the summer progresses the rooftops and verandahs slowly fill up with firewood in preparation for the winter. From July the women also cut grass and other vegetation on the mountain slopes and carry loads of it back where it is spread on the rooftops to dry before being stored away for winter fodder (see pictures 6, 14, and 17).

During August the women, children, and anyone else who can help, also spend hours in the fields whistling and clapping their hands to scare birds and monkeys away from the ripening grain. Scarecrows are fashioned from sticks and cloth and set up in fields where there are not enough people to help.

The harvest is also the responsibility of the women. When the grain is ready to be harvested, the women go into the fields, cut the grain a head at a time and slowly fill their baskets. From the first light of dawn to the last light of evening they work to get the grain safely home (see pictures 102, 104 and 105).

In addition to late summer thunderstorms, birds, and monkeys, there is sometimes another hazard threatening the crops. In August 1966 in the Nechingal Valley ". . . the ground was hopping with locusts. They clustered thickly on the heads of millet. In some cases entire fields had been destroyed by locusts. One hillside had completely bare fields on it; not even weeds remained. In other fields, the bare stalks, stripped of grain, stood as evidence of the extent of locust damage" (S.J. field notes).

37 *Zhönchigal, mid-July, 1964.* A young woman—just come home from a day's work in the fields—immediately starts to grind flour for baking bread in preparation for the evening meal. The rotary quern is placed inside the door to the right, and in the evening the rasping sound from all the querns fills the village air.—Photo: L.E.

38 *Auzuk, 28 October, 1970.*—Early morning. The sunshine falls through the door into the *āmā*. In the foreground three andirons—two are visible—hold the griddle, where the tea kettle is put to keep warm. Millet bread has already been baked; one piece is laid for further baking in the ashes.
Behind the griddle a woman is kneading dough—probably from wheat flour—in a wooden bowl for the guest.—Photo: T.F.

In addition to grain and pulse, some melons, gourds, and onions are grown, and in recent years a few families have begun to plant tomatoes and potatoes.

Threshing is mainly done in Autumn and is normally finished before the flocks and herds return from the mountain pastures to the village area (see section on Time-Reckoning and Ecological Balance). Threshing is carried out by both men and women; in the Ashkun-Waigali area usually on the flat rooftops; in the Parun Valley on meadows next to the villages. The flail used by men is a rather long, flexible, and slightly curved stick (see picture 69); the women use shorter ones (picture 132). Millet is threshed by treading the seeds from the ears with the feet (see picture 34). In Parun Valley oxen are used for threshing in addition to the use of flails. A man leads a pair of oxen round and round in a heap of barley (picture 132) while the women sit on the ground using their short sticks.

Robertson described the way in which the sower casts handfuls of grain on a field very sparsely (1896: 553), and yet the annual yield seems to be surprisingly high. Nuristanis calculate the harvest in terms of multiples of the quantities of seed sown:

Kamdesh:	Winter wheat yield	13–26 times
	Winter barley "	20–24 times
	Common millet "	25–30 times
	Maize "	25–30 times
Bragamatal:	Summer wheat yield	8–16 times
	Summer barley "	8–18 times
	Common millet "	20–40 times
	Maize "	20–40 times
	Peas "	10–20 times (D.i.H.: 123).

In Keshtagrom near Kamdesh we have even heard of an 80–fold multiple of maize. Even more remarkable is the high yield per hectar:

Parun and Bashgal Valley:	Wheat	16.8–28.6 hkg/ha.
	Millet	19.8–36.2 " "
	Maize	20.5–42.0 " " (D.i.H.: 122).

Further investigations might well focus on the amount of units of energy invested in the fields compared with the value of the harvest converted into the same units of energy. Such investigations are still rather scarce for any part of the world, but important for our understanding of how man

39 *Titin, Ashkun area, 5 January, 1961.* Wakil Alef Din (centre) joins a heated discussion with two school teachers (right and left) and other villagers concerning the best site for the new school.–Photo: S.J.

40 *Zhönchigal, mid-July, 1964.* Woman threading beads on a string. The beads come from Kabul. She wears silver ear ornaments, a necklace, and traditional leggings. She is sitting at the corner of her verandah. The gutter which leads rain water from the roof projects from the corner and is kept in position by a flat stone. On a neighbouring verandah the woman from picture 32 is seen spinning.–Photo: L.E.

41 *Memorial Gateway near Nisheigrom, Waigal Valley, September, 1969.* This gateway–the last surviving memorial gateway in Nuristan–was erected by Māyār in honour of his father Kānū to replace the gate which was destroyed in 1896 by the invading Afghan army. Though the gateway commemorates Kānū's deeds, it could only be built after Māyār had given a lavish public feast to the whole village.–Photo: S.J.

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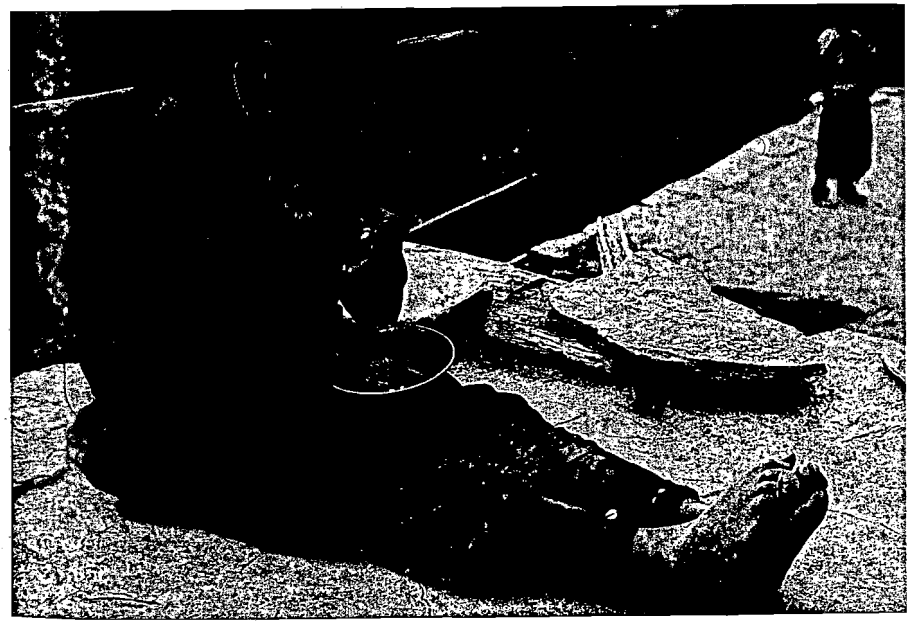

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43

ould use the soil. To give an idea of this kind of approach to the problem, we bring so es from Denmark (Bennekou *et al.* 1973: 48 and Bennekou and Schroll 1977: 264)[1]:

	100,000 kcal/ha		
	Denmark 1936 and 1970		Nuristan (estimated)
Chem. fertilizers	1.8	17.2	0*
Pesticides	–	0.4	0+
Manpower	0.5	0.2	(Woman)probably large
Horses	1.1	–	(oxen) probably small
Machines	0.9	2.6	0
Fossil Fuel	0.6	9.0	0
Electricity	0.9	7.2	0**
Transportation	?	?	
Sec. Energy expended	5.8++	36.6++	3 (rough estimate)
Food produced by photosynthesis (sunlight)	30	47	80–160 (+)
Utilization rate (*)	5	1.3	27–54

* Since 1973 some fertilizers have been used at Kamdesh (Strand 1975: 134).
\+ We took some herbicides to Nuristan in 1948, but never dared to use them as we soon discovered that the Nuristani women save certain 'weeds' for food–a source of Vitamin C.
** Water powered threshing machines might be a help in Nuristan.
++ The amount of units of energy in the seed grain is not included.
(+) It must be remembered that in Nuristan two crops may be taken from the same field in a single year and that meat is not a part of the daily diet; man is not the third, but the second link in the food chain.
(*) Utilization rate for that part of the production meant for human consumption.

Large areas of terraced fields round the villages of Nuristan give more the impression of gardens than of agricultural land–and these areas could just as well be called fruit gardens.

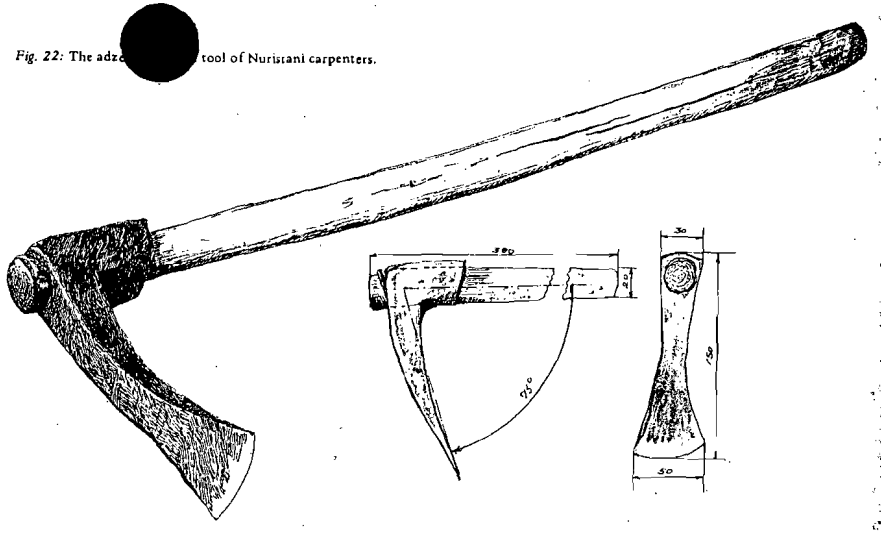
We have already made reference to the special garden *(Indrakun)* West of Wama, and below that village in the bottom of the Pech Valley there is another big fruit garden (Edelberg 1965: 163).

The fruit trees of these gardens comprise many different species: persimmon, jujube, apricot, mulberry, figs, walnut, and, last but not least, grapevines. In Parun there is a park zone at the foot of the mountains running from Pashki to Dewa. Here we find mainly hazel and walnut, but also apples and apricots.

43 *Keshtagrom (Kushtoz), early July, 1970.* Blacksmith at work. At his right side he has a wooden container for water, needed for tempering the glowing iron into steel.
Behind the blacksmith sits Abdullah Wakil with his hand to his forehead (see picture 90).–Photo: U.T.

1 *Energiforhold i den danske landbrugsproduktion* (with English summary). Geografisk Tidsskrift, vol. 73, pp. 36–48. Copenhagen, and *Dansk landbrugs energiforhold.* Naturens Verden, pp. 257–264. Copenhagen, 1977.

Fig. 22: The adz[illegible] tool of Nuristani carpenters.



Wild pomegranates, pears, and pines producing edible nuts *(Pinus gerardiana)* are also found in the uncultivated areas of Nuristan.

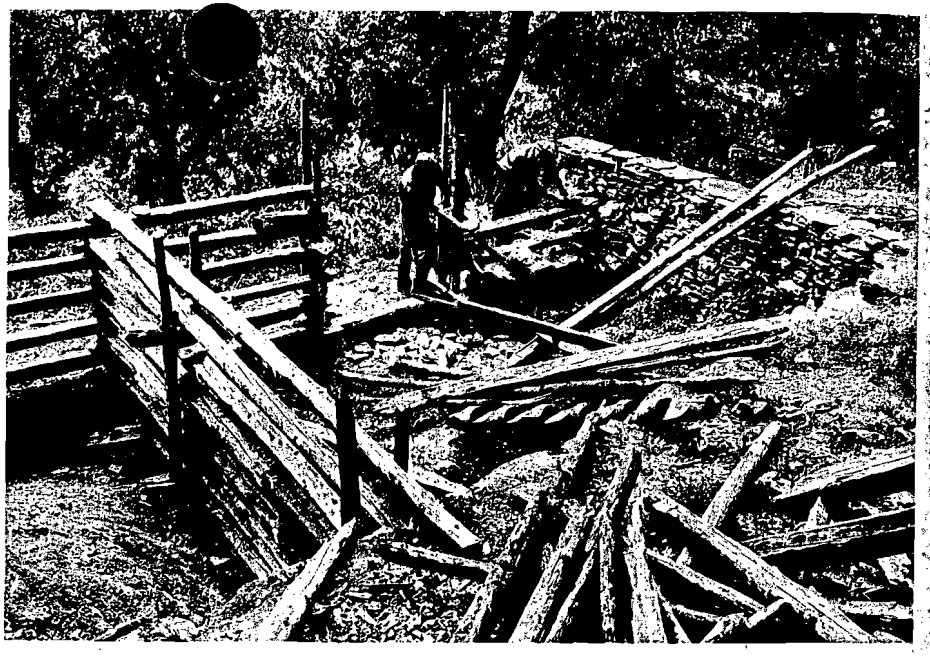
All these fruit trees, and probably many more, provide an important addition to the Nuristani diet. Many of these fruits can be picked or shot down with the two-stringed pellet bow (see picture 127) wherever they are found, e.g., pomegranates, mulberries, figs, etc. and no one regards these trees as private property. On the other hand, Nuristan has, from an early time, been famous for its strict rules which forbid anyone to pick certain fruits before a special harvest date, which is officially announced in each village the evening before. In Wama, for example, anyone who picked grapes before the announced date was killed by being thrown down the steep cliffs bordering the garden of Indrakun. Today one is merely fined by the *māla wrāi* if caught picking a certain fruit or nut before the correct date. If anyone is suspected by the *māla wřāi* of having eaten grapes unlawfully, they may go so far in their investigations as to look for grape seeds in the suspect's excrements.

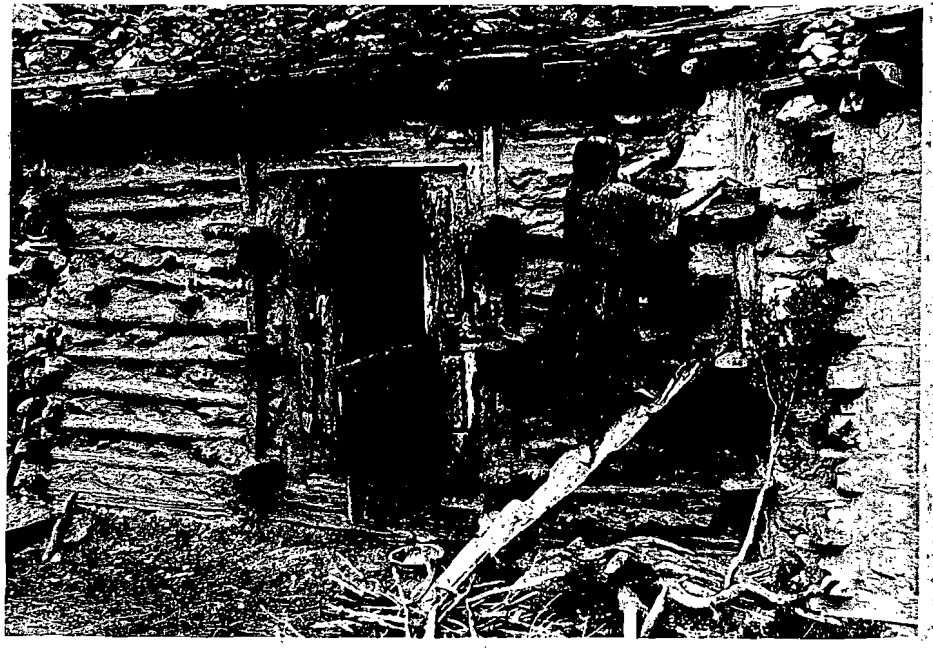
In 1953 the jujubes in Zhönchigal had been picked before the 23rd of September. Most of the rooftops in the village were covered by jujubes that were being dried prior to storage in the *berimganja* for the winter. On the evening of September 23rd the announcement for the grape harvest, to take place next day, was made. This announcement *(gara)* was made by the *bāri* member *(gara-gar)* of the *māla wřāi* (in Zhönchigal: *ūrei)* from some rooftop—probably that of the mosque nearest *Abresh*—the *bāri* quarter of the village.

Next day both men and women were busy with their baskets. Young men climbed the trees with small baskets and long goat hair ropes furnished with a wooden hook. From the tree tops they got hold of the vines and filled their baskets with grapes. When ready, they put the hook on the basket and lowered it down to the ground where the women carefully tipped the grapes into their larger baskets (see Danish State Film Central 1958).

44

44 *Zhönchigal, Abresh, end of September, 1953.* Unfinished house belonging to a craftsman. The entrance to the house is towards the left of the picture. Here a ladder is placed to reach the door. If this had been a landowner's house, a verandah would have been constructed here with a hay-store—a *berimganja* —underneath. But as a rule craftsmen have no hay to store, though this might change in future.
The four pillars of the hearth room—the *āma*—are placed with the carved fronts towards the entrance. Previously, carved pillars in a craftsman's house were inconceivable. Traditionally craftsmen have no right to decorate their houses with carved symbols of rank. There is an unusual departure from tradition in that the house has a door in its left wall leading to an open verandah. Nontraditional-building variations are occasionally met with in the craftsmen's quarter of the villages; very rarely in the landowners' part.
The beams which rest on the four pillars run parallel to the front of the house. The roof joists, which rest upon the beams, should number approximately ten, so this stage is still not finished. Until the roof is ready the wall masonry is protected by straw. For more about house construction, see picture 51 and Edelberg: *Nuristani Buildings.*—Photo: P.R.





45 *Waigal Village, August 1967.*—Housebuilding in the part of Waramdesh called Kandruk. The basic construction shown here is typical of houses in Waigal Valley. They are two-storeyed and here they are building the lower floor, the *ateram-ganja*. In fact they are building a double-house and the outer wall of the *ateram-ganja* is a solid stone wall. The craftsmen are arranging a horizontal log *(ban'ē)* between two vertical poles *(pik'ü)*, kept together by wooden clamps *(nakuṛ'ä)*. Later the craftsmen will build the upper floor *(āmā)* on top of the *ateram-ganja* and the verandah outside the door of the *āmā*. Under the verandah—outside the door-opening visible in the picture—they will build a hay-store with panelled walls *(berim-ganja)* or leave the space as a pathway under the verandah.—Photo: S.J.

In all this grape collecting there was apparently never any doubt as to whom the grapes belonged, whether they were taken from vines entwined among the fruit trees on the terraced fields, or among the oak trees in the neighbouring forest.

Two or three days later it was time for collecting walnuts. From early morning older men, followed by youths carrying flexible sticks four or five metres long, were walking out in all directions from the village. Boys and girls with goatskin bags joined them. The young men climbed the walnut trees or the neighbouring trees and knocked down the walnuts, which were then collected from the ground by boys and girls who filled their goatskin bags (see Danish State Film Central 1958).

We have not noted the announcement of such special fruit harvest days in Parun, but probably they exist there too. In Parun they shell the hazelnuts and walnuts before storage (see picture 135).

Fig. 23:
Except for the black-clad (Siah Posh) Kati blacksmith of Pashki, there are no *bāri* craftsmen in Parun. The Paruni landowners and livestock herders wear white woollen clothing (Safed Posh). This man is using an adze to make a notched log-ladder.

46 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, 24 July, 1970.* A *bāri* woman in Abresh—the *bāri* quarter—applies a coating of clay ro the outer walls of her house. This is done every year or two in order to fill cracks and replace the previous coating which has been damaged by weather. The rank symbols on the panels on either side of the door depict 'entangled' goat horns. Since *bāri* people were not eligible to compete for rank in the pre-Muslim period, these panels have probably been taken from an old *atrožan* house and re-used.—Photo: S.J.

Everywh[illegible]icking of fruits and nuts is planned so as to be finished before the arrival of the livestock from the summer pastures (see p. 79). An exception may be the collecting of edible pine nuts, about which we know all too little.

Walnuts, mulberries and the grapevines climbing among them or among the oak trees round the fields have been mentioned in connection with the shade they give to the growing crops, preventing the drying out of the crops and the soil. Moreover, in terraced fields on steep slopes like those in Nuristan where there is no sub-soil water, the roots of the trees will go deeper in the ground taking advantage of the irrigation water and its soluble minerals before it soaks away. Thus the combination of fields and gardens constitutes a fine ecological system, increasing the amount of nutrients circulating within the agricultural system and minimizing the loss of nutrients from that system.

Throughout the winter, except when the snow is too deep, some agricultural work continues. The livestock must be fed on evergreen oak leaves, hay, straw, and maize stalks. The winter stables must be cleaned out periodically. The manure from the stables is labouriously carried up the mountains and spread on the terraces to the benefit of next year's crop.

V. TRANSHUMANT LIVESTOCK HERDING

WINTER CARE AND SUMMER MIGRATIONS

In Nuristan it is the men—mainly the young men—who take care of the cows, the goats, and the sheep. Goats are particularly important because they provide the means for not only economic, but also social success in Nuristani society.

The year is divided into two parts: the winter, when livestock must be kept in stables at night on account of the weather and the danger of attack by leopards and wolves, and the summer, when the livestock are grazing under the care of shepherds during the day and are kept in walled enclosures at night. Both winter and summer patterns of transhumance and livestock care differ according to whether the conditions are those of the lower V-shaped valleys or the upper U-shaped valleys.

As our experiences are mainly from the V-shaped valley of Waigal and from the U-shaped valley of Parun, the following account concentrates on those areas.

Winter in the V-shaped Valleys

I. *Waigal*

Cows and sheep

In the whole of Waigal Valley the *berimganja* of each house (see fig. 61) serves as a hay store in the winter. The hay is used as fodder for the cows and sheep. On the outskirts of the villages in lower Waigal Valley there are rather large hay-stores with saddle roofs and open gables where they store straw from the cereal crops which, together with hay from the *berimganja,* is used for winter fodder.

In the upper Waigal Valley there are similar hay stores, but usually these lie at a considerable distance from the village—anything up to several hours' walk. These saddle-roofed buildings are extremely well built, their walls being of the same construction and to the same standard as the walls of a house in the village (see picture 18). The ground floor is arranged for the shepherd to live in. In Summer these same rooms may be occupied by women who, having worked in the fields all day, spend the night there as the village is far away and they would only have to return again the next day to continue their work. The cows and sheep are kept in flat-roofed square buildings at night.

Goats

At the beginning of Winter goats are taken to the snow-free oak forests covering the slopes near the confluence of the Waigal and Pech Rivers. During the winter women from the village come down at intervals to supply the herdsmen with food.

These winter 'grazing' grounds provide very little vegetation for the goats to feed on. To make up the deficiency, the shepherds climb several evergreen oak trees each day to cut branches. The goats eat

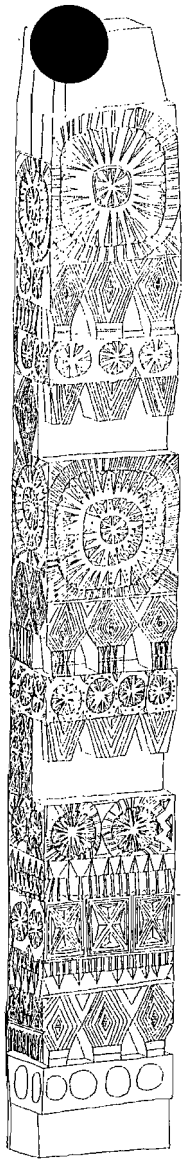
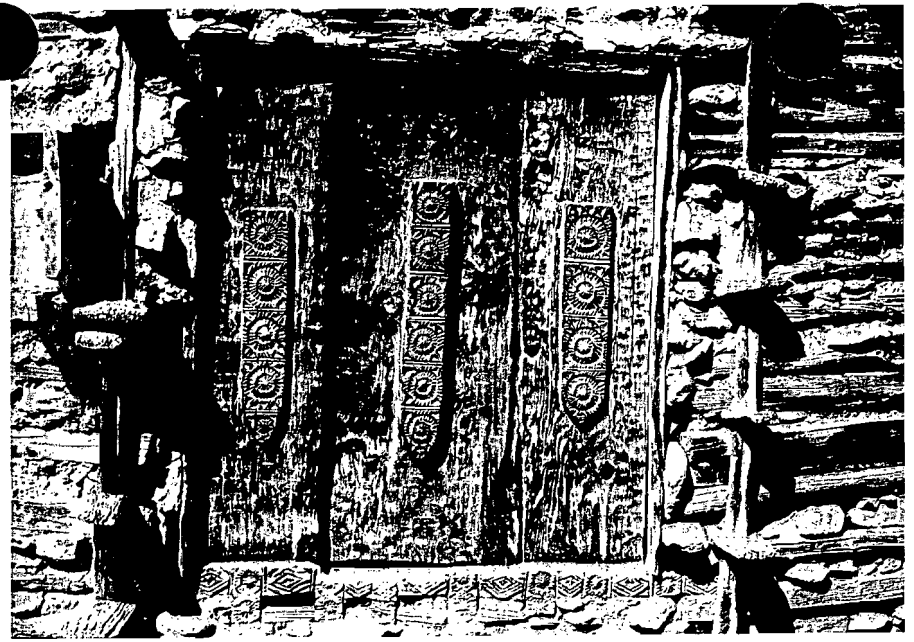


Fig. 24:
Top half of a pillar from the main room *(āmā)* of a house in Wama. The lower half (not shown) would only be visible in the room below *(ateramganja)* where its lower end rests on stone.

47 *Nisheigrom, Waigal Valley, February, 1968.* The front of an older house on the slopes of *dinastun*. The door and door panels have been carved to depict highly abstract forms of goat heads and horns. These have been 'decorated' with rank symbols representing feasts of merit. The door sill is an old house column (lying face down) that has been re-used in a novel way.—Photo: S.J.

48 *Keshtagrom, Nechingal Valley, early July, 1970.* Carpenter's tools belonging to Sayid Ghulam: Between the long-handled axe and the long-handled adze for trimming timber lie the short-handled broad adze for surfacing doors and panels, the short-handled narrow adze for making notches, and a wooden handle with a special cutter for shaping rifle butts. The hand saw is rarely made in Nuristan. It cuts on the up-stroke—opposite to the European saw, which cuts on the downward stroke. Ladles are made by using the long-handled curved knife, which is also used for making the inner surface of a bowl. On the whetstone (lower left) lies a sharp chisel. There are three files, the middle one shaped for some special purpose. The one on the whetstone to the right has been curved and sharpened at the proximal end and is used for making carvings, the distal part being used as a two-handed handle (see picture 103).—Photo: L.E.



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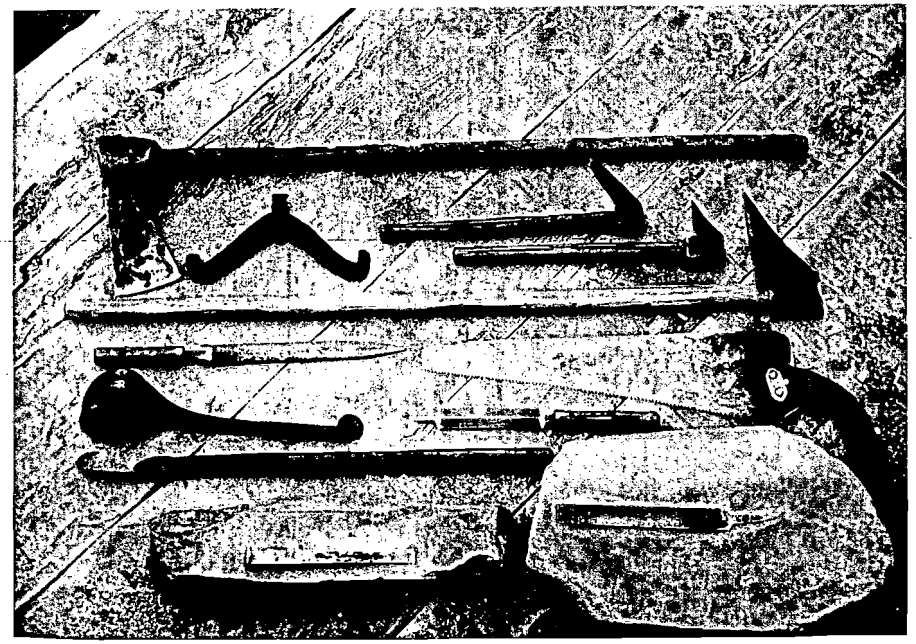

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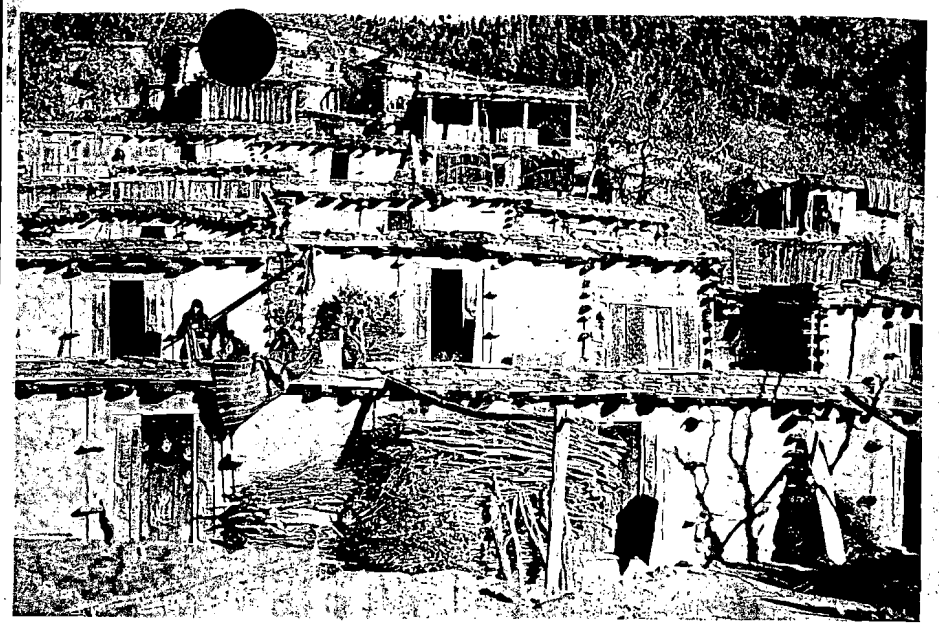
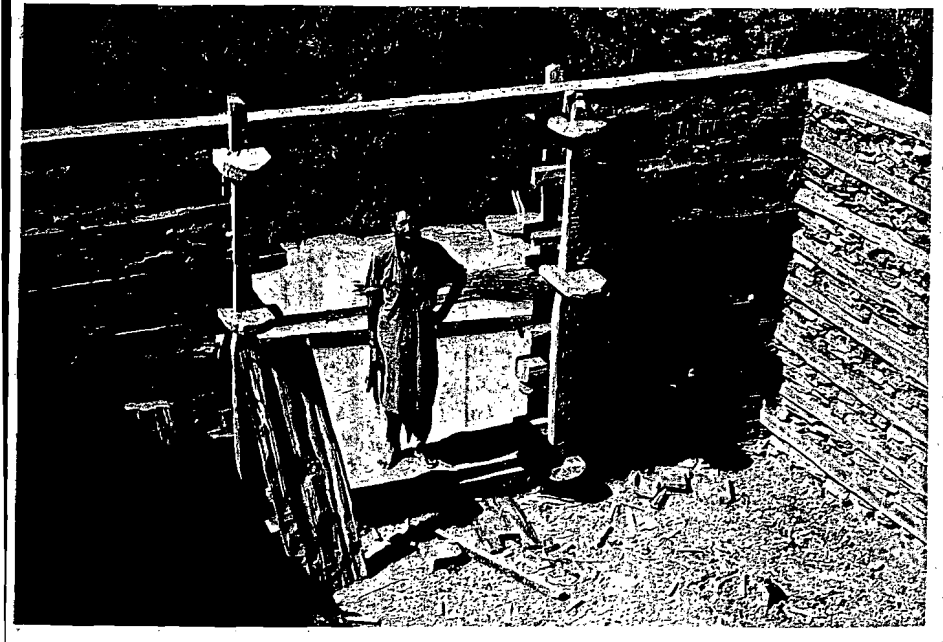




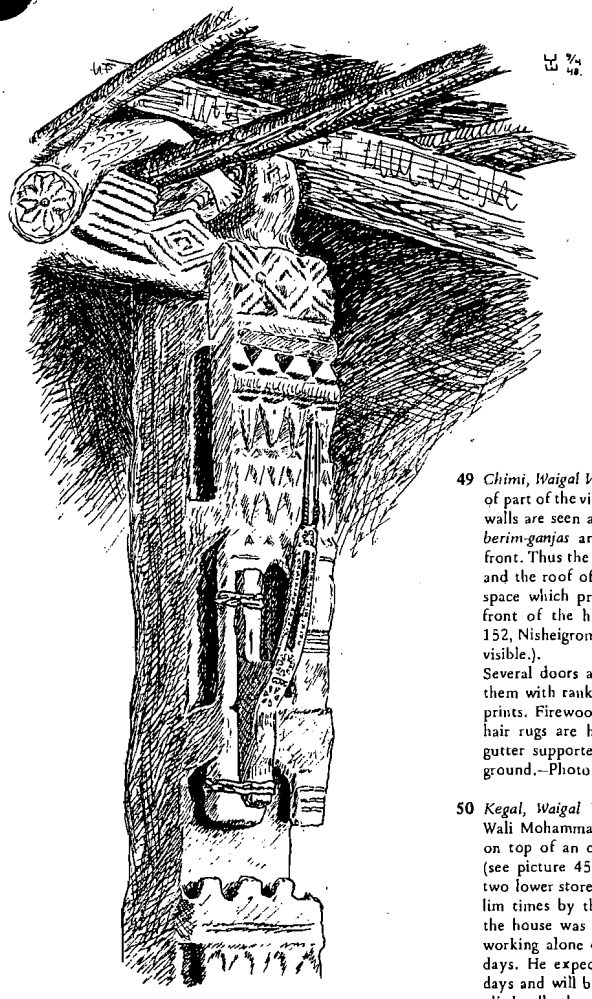


Fig. 25:
Top part of a pillar in the main room *(āmā)* of a house in Wama. A carved oak hook has been bound to the pillar with strips of leather so that household objects may be hung there.

49 *Chimi, Waigal Valley, 8 November, 1970.* Front view of part of the village. A few *berim-ganja* with panelled walls are seen above and to the left. But mainly the *berim-ganjas* are here hidden behind the house in front. Thus the roof of the *berim-ganja*, the verandah, and the roof of the house in front form a single flat space which projects two plus three bays from the front of the house behind (compare with picture 152, Nisheigrom, where virtually all *berim-ganjas* are visible.).
Several doors and door panels are visible, some of them with rank symbols *(kirau ṣiṇ)* and clay handprints. Firewood for the winter is abundant. Goat hair rugs are hung in the sun. An especially long gutter supported by a plank is visible in the foreground.–Photo: T.F.

50 *Kegal, Waigal Valley, 22 August, 1969.* Carpenter Wali Mohammad of Zhönchigal is building an *āmā* on top of an old *ateram-ganja* for Mohammad Din (see picture 45). The older part of the house (the two lower storerooms) were constructed in pre-Muslim times by the present owner's grandfather, but the house was not then finished. Wali Mohammad, working alone on the *āmā*, has got this far in eight days. He expects to finish the *āmā* in another 10 days and will be paid one cow. The owner has supplied all the necessary building materials. The wooden slabs to the left of the door (which the Waigal Nuristani consider to be the right side of the room) are split out of a tree trunk. They are intended for the roof (see picture 51).–Photo: S.J.

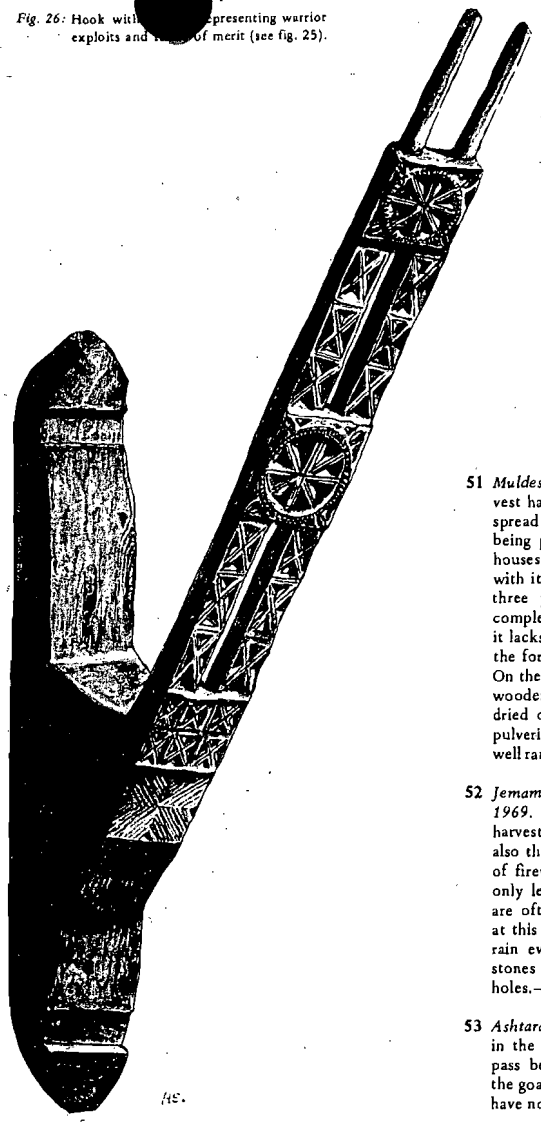
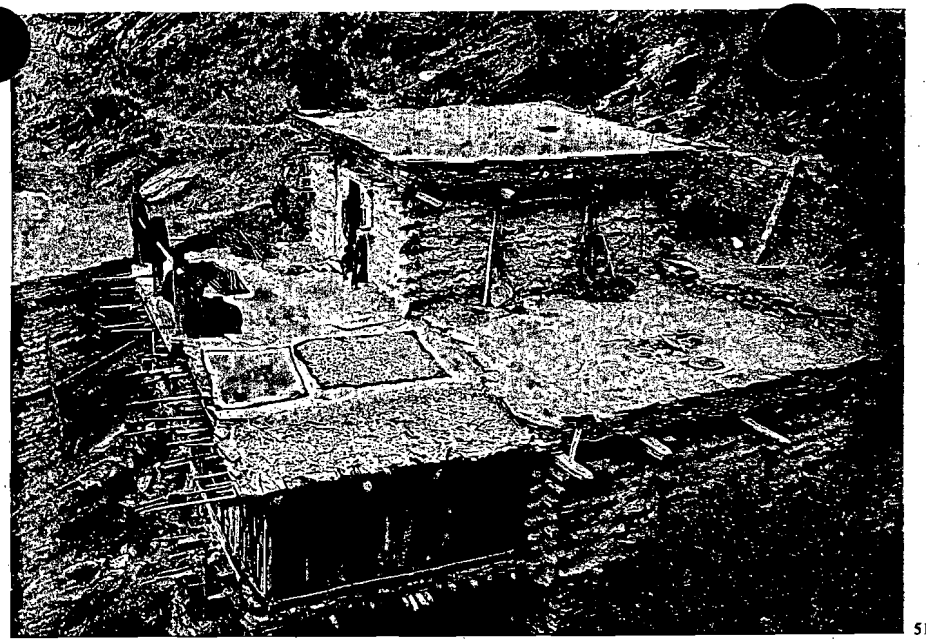


Fig. 26: Hook with [illegible] representing warrior exploits and [illegible] of merit (see fig. 25).

51 *Muldesh, Waigal Valley, 25 August, 1969.* The harvest has begun and beans, peas, and millet have been spread on goathair rugs on the rooftops to dry before being put away in the storerooms below. Here two houses have been built side by side; the farther house with its *ama*, *ateram-ganja*, and *berim-ganja* and the three posted railing in front of the verandah is complete. But the nearer house is not yet finished—it lacks the main room, the *ama*. The *berim-ganja* in the foreground shows the construction of the roof: On the roof-beams—here simply roof-rafters—are laid wooden slabs and over them a layer of chips (or dried oak leaves). Over that again a layer of grey, pulverized schist, and finally clay, which should be well rammed down after each rain storm.—Photo: S.J.

52 *Jemamesh (Jamach), Waigal Valley, 3 September, 1969.* Preparations for winter involve not only the harvesting and storing of vegetables and cereals, but also the cutting and drying of hay and the gathering of firewood. The rooftops and verandahs being the only level work spaces in a Nuristani village, they are often nearly covered with wood, hay and grain at this time of the year, and in a sudden shower of rain everything must be taken in hastily. The flat stones in the centre of the roofs cover the smoke holes.—Photo: S.J.

53 *Ashtaragala Pass, 10 August, 1967.* Shepherds stand in the chill dawn at their mountain stables in the pass between Waigal Valley and Tregam. Many of the goats, standing on the roofs of the stone shelters, have not yet gone out to graze.—Photo: S.J.



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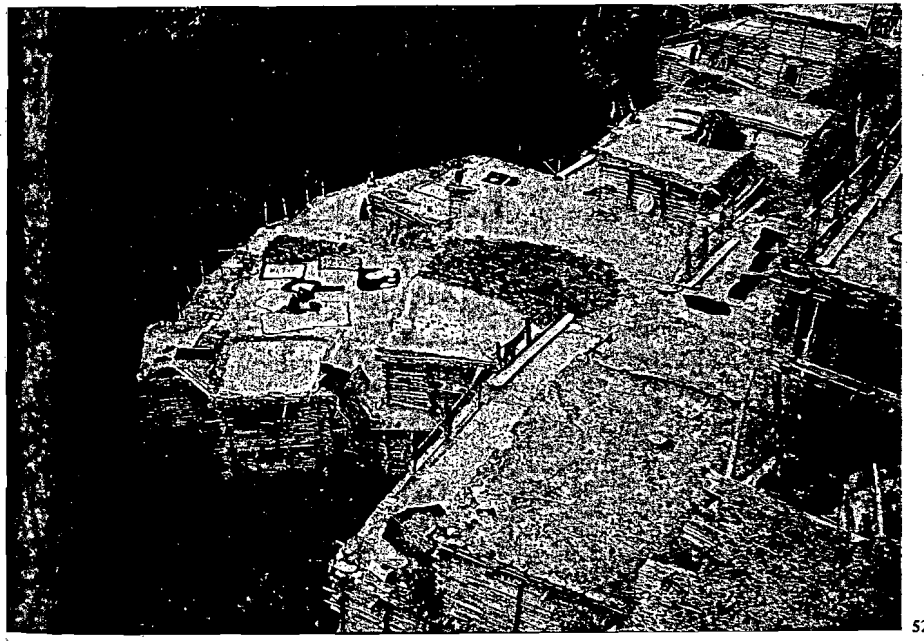

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55

the leaves—hard and thorny as they are—and even the thin branches. The rest of the branches are gathered and stacked and, sooner or later, carried to the village for winter fuel. The German Hindu Kush Expedition of 1935 (D.i.H.) was the first to point out that the areas where goat-herding is predominant and the areas of evergreen oak forests match each other with remarkable accuracy (D.i.H. 1937: 127).

The Nuristani are aware of the risk to which they expose the oak forest zone if they overexploit these trees. Haji Azizulla of Kegal said, "In winter the *mala-wřāi* control the cutting of branches on the evergreen oak trees to see that no one cuts more than they need. If they cut too much they will be fined. These branches are cut to feed leaves to the goats; the branches are used for household fires. There are three reasons for not cutting down the trees: if we cut trees, the pastures will disappear; if there are no pastures, the goats will starve; if there are no trees and no pastures, then the rain will come and take away our land. Only rocks will remain. Our life will be finished" (S.J. field notes, 11 August, 1967).

In lower Waigal the winter grazing grounds are said to be 'private property' (Yusuf Nuristani 1973: 178). But it is not clear what is meant by private property in this context. It probably means that certain lineages have an acknowledged right (acknowledged by fellow-villagers) to graze their livestock there. There is no land register in Nuristan. These grazing grounds are, moreover, often lying in areas where the Nuristanis share them—more or less voluntarily—with the Safis of the Pech Valley below Gusalak.

1. watma guishuk ža̲kolem karuṭā
2. aomash guishuk ža̲kolem karuṭā
3. zino guishuk ža̲kolem karuṭā
4. kam guishuk sa̲kolem karuṭā
5. shabel guishuk bi̲kelem karuṭā

1. Let us drive up the valley the male goats of Waigal, o Karuta!
2. Let us drive up the valley the male goats of Ameshdesh, o Karuta!
3. Let us drive up the valley the male goats of Wama, o Karuta!
4. Let us drive to the west the male goats of Kamdesh, o Karuta!
5. Let us drive down the male goats of Minjan, o Karuta!

Prasun Song — Pronz, Parun Valley, 21 October, 1953.

Prefixes indicating directions are underlined (see p. 17)

(Edelberg 1972: 58–59).

54 *Chetras, Jau-da Pass, 30 May, 1948.* Spring in the mountains, with *Eremurus himalaicus* flowering in the coniferous zone.—Photo: L.E.

55 *Tsamgal, 10 July, 1970.* A Nuristani landowner, rifle over his shoulder, together with his shepherd clad in a goatskin, drives a flock of goats to the mountain pastures through the V-shaped valley, so narrow that the sun only shines on the river for a short time each day.—Photo: L.E.

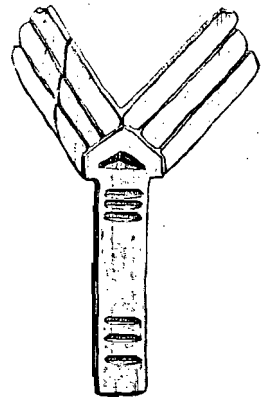


Fig. 27:
Grōṣ ṣiṇ, the head and horns of a he-goat.

II. *Lower Bashgal*

In the lower Bashgal the hay stores are quite different from those of the Ashkun–Waigali area, as they have flat roofs (see Robertson 1896: 261–262, 497–499).

The Kam people dominate the lower Bashgal (Landai Sin) and usually send their shepherds and goats to the oak forests in Satrgrom in Winter.

Among the Kam ownership rights in pastures and grazing rights are passed from father to son, or to other agnates if a man dies without leaving a son. Owners of winter quarters may sell their lands as long as no agnates have a claim to the common grazing area (Strand 1975: 126).

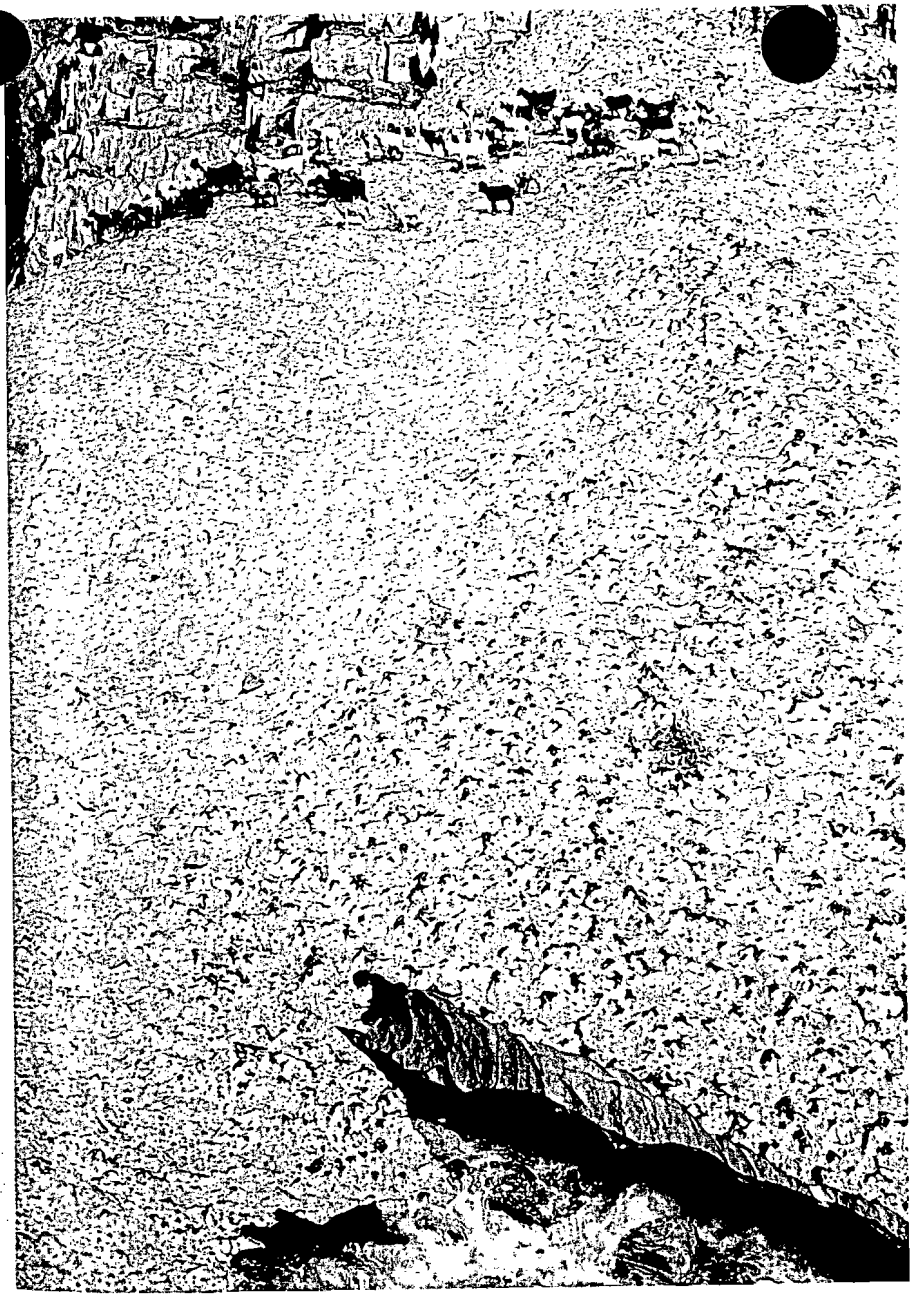
Winter in the U-shaped Valleys

III. *The Parun Valley*

In the higher U-shaped valleys of upper Bashgal and Parun livestock need to be kept in winter stables on account of the heavy snow falls and avalanches. The stables are built close to the village (see pictures 130 and 131), and the livestock are fed on the straw that is stored in big stacks on the roof of the stables (see pictures 132 and 133). In those villages above the timber line winter feed also consists of thorny cushion plants cut on the alpine pastures between mid August–*wiški-la*– and October.

Throughout the whole valley, however, hay harvested from the irrigated meadows is most important for the livestock. When walking up the Parun Valley from Pashki to Shtiwe one crosses numerous beautiful well-tended meadows. An abundance of flowers adorns these meadows in Spring and Summer, starting with the little sky-blue ensian *Gentiana Huxleyi*, which appears in mid May. Stepping stones are carefully laid out to form paths across the wet stretches. Narrow superficial water channels are arranged in a network so that the meadows are evenly watered. The hay is cut by both men and women. In the lower part of Parun (Pashki) hay is cut in the month of *ütü-lau* (August), while in the upper part (Shtiwe) hay is cut in *zapate-la* (in the first third of September). These meadows are edged with rows of stones and are considered to be private property in the sense that both the tending of the meadows and the harvesting is done by certain families, but outside the growing season, grazing is common to all. The growing season runs from the end of May to the last third of October.

In the lower part of Parun–that part of the valley below Dewa, where the slopes are still covered with coniferous forests–there is along the foot of the mountains a zone consisting mainly of hazel trees *(Corylus jacquemontii,* see section on Vegetation). The surface of this park-like landscape is well tended. In Spring the sward is carefully swept by men with besoms to remove the hulls and leaves fallen during the previous Autumn. The collected material is then burned off in piles and later, a crop of hay is cut.



56 *Tsamgal, 10 July, 1970.* Goats enjoying the cool of a snow-ice-bridge across a torrent which streams out below.
During early Spring snow accumulates at certain places in the steep valleys. When the snow starts melting on the surface, the water soaks down into the underlying snow where it freezes. In this way snow hardens to form an ice bridge. In early summer these ice bridges get rather slender, but as they are still strong, they are used as pathways by the Nuristani. When finally the thinnest part of the bridge melts off and only two cantilevers are left, the Nuristani jump over the intervening space–twenty meters or more above the turbulent water.–Photo: L.E.

57
Nechingal near Keshtagrom, mid-October, 1953. A shepherd presses the tepid whey from a cheese made with rennet. In October the flocks and herds are led back from the mountain pastures through the forest zone.–Photo: P.R.

58
Nechingal near Keshtagrom, mid-October, 1953. In the morning a shepherd has baked millet or maize bread, and now he is drying the loaves in the warm ashes from the fire. Behind him another shepherd churns butter in a skin bag.–Photo: P.R.

Fig. 28:
Wooden *kos* measure and pitcher. Used primarily for clarified butter (ghee). Height: 19 cm. Capacity: ca. 4.5 litres.

Summer Livestock Migrations

I. *Waigal*

"These are the laws of the livestock: when the *mala-wřāi* announce the move from the winter stables to the summer pastures, all livestock must leave the village. When the day for taking livestock to the mountain pastures has passed, the *mala-wřāi* will search the village. If they find one kid or goat; if they find one lamb or sheep; if they find one calf or cow, they will take a [provisional] fine [*dənə*] of one tripod table from the owner. If the animal is not gone on the next day, they will take another tripod table as a fine. If the herdsman allows one animal to cross the boundary between terraced fields and pasture before the announced date, he must pay a one goat fine. If a herdsman allows his stock to enter a [cultivated] field he will be fined two goats and he will pay the amount of the damage to the owner of the field" (Informant from Waigal Valley, quoted in Jones 1974: 44–46).

The date when the livestock leave the winter grazing grounds and stables is for many men, especially the young men, the day when they leave village life, either as shepherds for the whole summer (see Scheme of wages for herdsmen, p. 81), or as stockowners for shorter or longer periods to take part in or to supervise the dairy activities. As will be seen in the following pages, shepherds do not wander at random in the mountains with their flocks and herds. But detailed studies of such movements have yet to be made. From Zhönchigal we have an account of a migration route, but we do not know whether it is a route followed by most of the livestock of the village or only by a single herding unit, a *palae*. We also do not know if this route was followed for several successive years, or only a single year by some of the herdsmen. Finally, we have not followed the route ourselves. The pastures have been located on the map according to information given in Zhönchigal on the 23rd of May, 1954. We have similar route-information from Muldesh, but what is actually needed is a survey of the whole pattern of migration routes during a summer in Nuristan, together with information as to why certain pastures are visited at certain times. We also need to know more about the relationships between different stockowners and the kind of problems that arise.

The stockowners in Waigal Valley own many goats; a wealthy man may have more than 500, but they have relatively few cows, rarely more than twenty, and a very limited number of sheep–just enough to supply the *bāri* craftsmen with wool. It appears from the chart (p. 72) that only the goats are

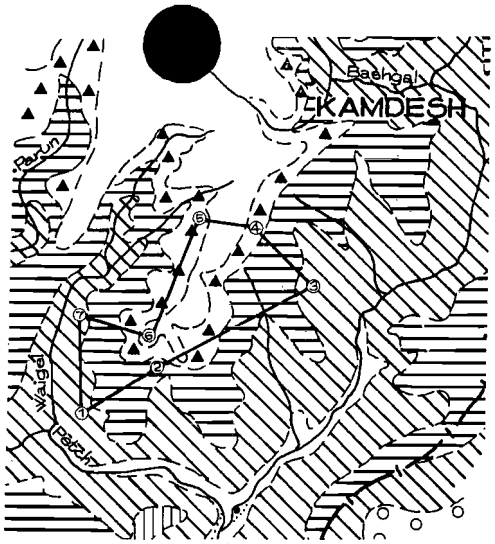


Fig. 29:
Summer Transhumant Movement: Zhönchigal

1. Ningalam
2. Diwrei
3. Gawarei
4. Lŏngal
5. Aserak
6. Togo
7. Zhönchigal

We have not followed this route; it has been constructed on the basis of information supplied by informants. See chart below. The key to the various forest regions shown on the map (left) is to be found in Fig. 7 on p. 32.

CALENDAR		MIGRATION ROUTE (see Fig. 29)		Informants' additional remarks
Jones 1974: 272	Edelberg 1965: 173	Goats	Sheep and Cows	
Grönset	Grönset	Ningalam	Zhönchigal	
Üštümger	Üštümger	–	–	
Višnala	Wäšnalə	–	–	
Bedôt	Bidord	① Ningalam		In the oak forest, one stable pr[illegible] family (-group).
		2 days' move		
Yaŋger	Yāger	② Diwrei		In the cedar forest, in the area of Kunkilə (= Chimi(a)).
		3 days' move via Drungsa		
		③ Gawarei		In the oak forest, in the area of Tsukui, on the eastern side (of Drungsa); sheep-shearing.
	Zardo	1 day's move via Ačin-da		
Kĕrprayli		④ Lŏngal		Above the forest, in the area of Irrigal (=Weligal), farthest away.
	Ban	1/2 day's move via Anteluk		
Pôk		⑤ Aserak		Above the forest, in the direction of Kamdesh.
	Traskando	2 days' move via Autulik		
		⑥ Togo		The most elevated *šāl*, visible from 'Tüb' (in 'Berimčem') in Zhönchigal.
		1/2 day's move		
Atau	Atau	⑦ Zhönchigal		In the oak forest; sheep-shearing.
Pôtča				
Jôlüš	Jalüš	Zhönchigal		
		3 days' move via Want		
Nüšt-preymili	Premina	Ningalam	Zhönchigal	
Pata-preymili	Pata-premina	–	–	

moved to the snow-free parts of the oak forest zone during winter. The cows and sheep are [illegible]m the hay stores, and are frequently seen in the villages at that time of the year, together with some small kids (see picture 142). For this reason different winter herdsmen are needed to care for the different types of livestock. But when the *mala wřāi* have announced the day of departure from the village in Spring, the cows and sheep are taken to Ningalam to join the goats. Between Spring and Autumn the shepherds will visit about five different saeter camps *(šāls)* before returning to their village at the end of the harvest season.

In summer, different clans have special grazing rights relating to different mountain pastures. But the summer pastures are not exclusively clan property, as any clan member can sell his right to the use of a pasture. On the other hand, the right to use a pasture is not necessarily a right to use it every year. It may be that the right is only valid for use every second or third year. What then does the owner do in a year when he has no right to the pasture? He may have rights elsewhere in the mountains. So his migration route during the summer is partly determined by the rights he has to different pastures in that particular year, and partly by the organized herding group (the *palae*) of which he is a member. The *palae* system will be described later in this chapter.

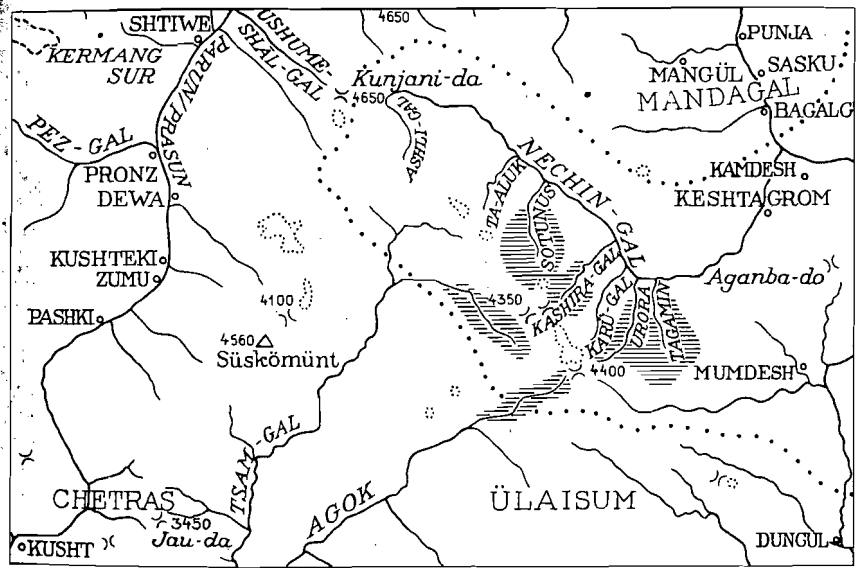


Fig. 30:
Hatched area indicates alpine pastures used in Summer by Kshto. Dotted line indicates the limits of Kam tribal territory (according to Strand 1975: 124).

In Spring and Autumn the Kshto graze their livestock in the forest zone in the main valley of Nechingal between the tributary of Tagamin and the village of Keshtagrom.

II. *Lower*

The Kam are the dominant people in the lower Bashgal. Here "alpine pastureland is spoken of as belonging to members of a lineage, but that does not mean that all members of the lineage have rights to the area. Only agnates with inherited rights may use a particular area, and alpine pastureland may not be considered to be the corporate estate of a lineage. Traditionally, the only way alpine pastureland could pass outside the lineage was if it was lost as reparations to another tribe.

"Individual rightholders may expropriate an area of the alpine pasture for their exclusive use, building a stable on it. Such an area is considered to be the person's private domain, from which he may exclude other agnates who have rights to the pastureland. He passes the stable area to his agnatic heirs along with the rights to the alpine pasture, but if the stable area goes unused for several seasons, the heirs may lose their claim to it (but not their rights to the alpine pasture) to an agnate in need of more grazing area" (Strand 1975: 126).

It seems as if an agnate without rights to a certain alpine pasture may, in this way, get rights to it.

III. *Nechingal*

A little to the South-West of Kamdesh lies Keshtagrom, the main village of the Kshto people. The Kshto have mountain pastures in the forests beyond their village and alpine pastures in four of the Southern tributaries of the Nechingal. The other tributaries and the main valley of the Nechingal belong to the Kam. The Kshto also hold grazing rights in the upper Agok and Tsamgal Valleys. Dungul is inhabited by Kshto also, but we lack information about grazing rights in that area.

Stockowners from Keshtagrom build their mountain stables, *šāl,* in the alpine pastures indicated on the map (p. 73), but there is a rule that any stockowner from Keshtagrom who comes to an unoccupied *šāl* can use it, even if the *šāl*-builder himself should turn up with his livestock. On the other hand, if the stockowner finds someone who is not from Keshtagrom or Dungul using his *šāl,* he will ask him to leave.

ORGANIZED HERDING ARRANGEMENTS

For the purpose of livestock herding and the making of dairy products two to ten families join together to form a kind of cooperative (Kt: *palê*; Pr: *palä, pel'ä;* Wg: *palae, palai).* The first mention of the system is from the Deutsche Hindukusch Expedition (D.i.H. 1937: 133). Yusuf Nuristani has described it more fully (1973: 177–181). See also Jones 1974: 31–33, and Edelberg 1974: 132.

In the section dealing with Time-reckoning and Ecological Balance the *pel'ä* system of Parun Valley will be discussed. Here we shall focus on the *palae* system as it functions in the Waigal Valley.

In Ameshdesh Haji Faqir gave the following information on the first of September, 1969: "There are several kinds of *palai* and several reasons for the system. First, they make *palai* because some men have no brothers or sons or other relatives to help them. Such a man makes *palai* because it is an advantage for several men to work cooperatively together. Second, some men do not have very many goats. They go together and make *palai.* All their goats and other animals run together to make one

herd. Then the men take turns herding and milking them, or they may go together and hir[illegible]herd to help them. When they make cheese toward the end of summer there is a big wooden bowl *(zor-mërwa)* which they fill and take turns using the contents for cheese-making. One day one man gets all the milk, next day the second man gets all the milk, and so on. Third, four of five persons are alone; no family to help them. Perhaps they have very small herds of their own. They will receive goats from other people for the summer, and they also take care of cows. Then, for example, the owners of the cows do not have to worry about them; they are free to do other things. The agreement is that at the end of the summer the owner will receive 2 *kos* (approx. 7–8 liters. See fig. 28) of ghee and 6 *kila* (cheeses) for each cow which he has put in the shepherd's care. One cow actually should produce 6 *kos* of ghee and 18 *kila* in a summer, so the shepherd can make a profit. Of course, the shepherd has taken care of the cows, he has milked them, he has made ghee and cheese; he has done all the work. The owner has just left his cattle in the *palai* for the summer and has gone off to do other things.

"Another kind of *palai* system is that of the Chimanishei or Amüshkara people.

In Waigal Valley the people distinguish between Wardesh or Kilakara—the Northern villages of Jamach, Ameshdesh, Zhönchigal and Waigal—and Chimanishei or Amüshkara—the Southern villages of Nisheigrom, Kegal, Chimi, and Muldesh. Amüsh is also transcribed as Amüş.

"In Chimanishei four or five families get together and decide that they will make *palai* for the summer. The first day each man milks his animals and measures the milk. All the milk is given to the man who has the greatest quantity. That man must estimate the number of days he thinks he can take milk from the others, bearing in mind the fact that he must later pay each person back. When he thinks that he has received all of the milk which he can safely return, he gives his turn to the person who had the second largest quantity of milk that first day. Everyone now gives his milk to the second man; the first man is paying the second back; the second man is borrowing from all the others. When the second man has received back all the milk which he gave to the first man, it becomes the turn of the third person. So it goes through the summer. Depending upon the number of men in the *palai-bar,* and the number of livestock they have, each person or member may get more than one turn in the summer." (S.J. Field notes, 1969).

An informant from Chimi (10 August, 1967) said, "The arrangement of *palai-bar* is a private arrangement made among friends. They do this so that the herds can be taken care of while some of the men are away on other business. In the Northern villages *(Wardesh/Kilakara)* they make *palai,* but each man keeps his own milk; they don't take turns all summer like we do. At the end of summer they cooperate in cheese-making, and at that time they cooperate and take turns for a few days each.

"In the Chimanishei villages we all make *palai* and take turns. The taking of turns is an advantage for those who don't have many goats or other animals. In general it is an advantage because the pastures are far away, a man may get sick, or his animals may become sick, or he may lose some to wild animals. With the group cooperating together, it acts as a kind of mutual protection and is advantageous to all." (S.J. Field notes, 1967).

Whether one or the other kind of *palai-bar,* the reason for the system given by a man in Zhönchigal seems logical: "We make *palai* for protection against leopards and people who may infringe our pasture rights. Also, if we are alone then we have no chance to come to the village for a day or two now and then. Three or four brothers may make *palai* together, just as three or four friends may do."

Wardesh/Ki

Muhammad Amin of Zhönchigal described the system in these terms: "In the summer pastures each man milks his own animals and makes his own butter for the first two months. Then they bring their butter down to their homes. They divide into pairs. One day one man gets all the milk. This is for cheese-making. If one man has much more milk than the other, he takes his turn for two days, and his partner takes for one. In this way, they continue throughout the summer. At the end of the first two months, when all the butter is brought down to the village, the different families gather in their homes and they put *kāc (Setaria italica)* into the butter and heat it; the *kāc* takes the *išpi* (buttermilk) from the ghee. The ghee is poured off and the rest is eaten. Then they go back to their pastures and make cheese for the rest of the summer."

Chimanishei/Amüshkara

In Nisheigrom the mountain pasture area is rather limited. The winter pastures belong to nuclear families and the summer pastures are owned by clans, i.e., different kinship groups (Nuristani 1973: 177). The right of a clan to use a certain summer pasture may be annual, but often it may only fall every second or third year. In Nisheigrom the rights are apparently not attached to the use of a certain migration route as in Parun (see Time-reckoning and Ecological Balance) but, as mentioned, are connected to certain pastures. Thus things get very complicated, even for the Nuristanis, and probably are the cause of many discussions during the winter. These discussions are about the composition of the *palae*, and probably about the final choice of a certain migration route. When these things have been settled, the families who have decided to form a *palae* together kill a goat and celebrate the arrival of Spring.

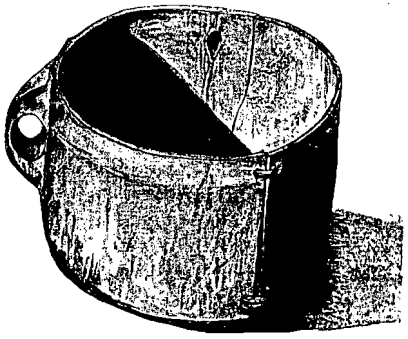


Fig. 31:
Wooden bowl (repaired with split willow) used for pressing whey out of cheese. It is such bowls that give the cheeses their final shape.

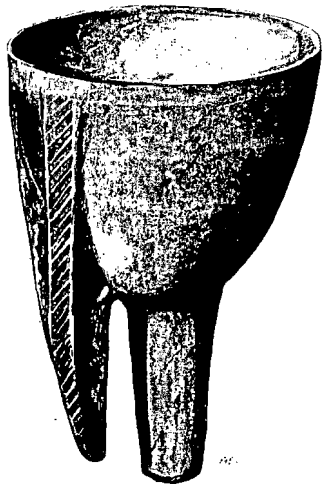


Fig. 32:
Wooden funnel used for transferring clabber from wooden bowls into the skin churn. The Y-shaped design represents the head and horns of a goat.

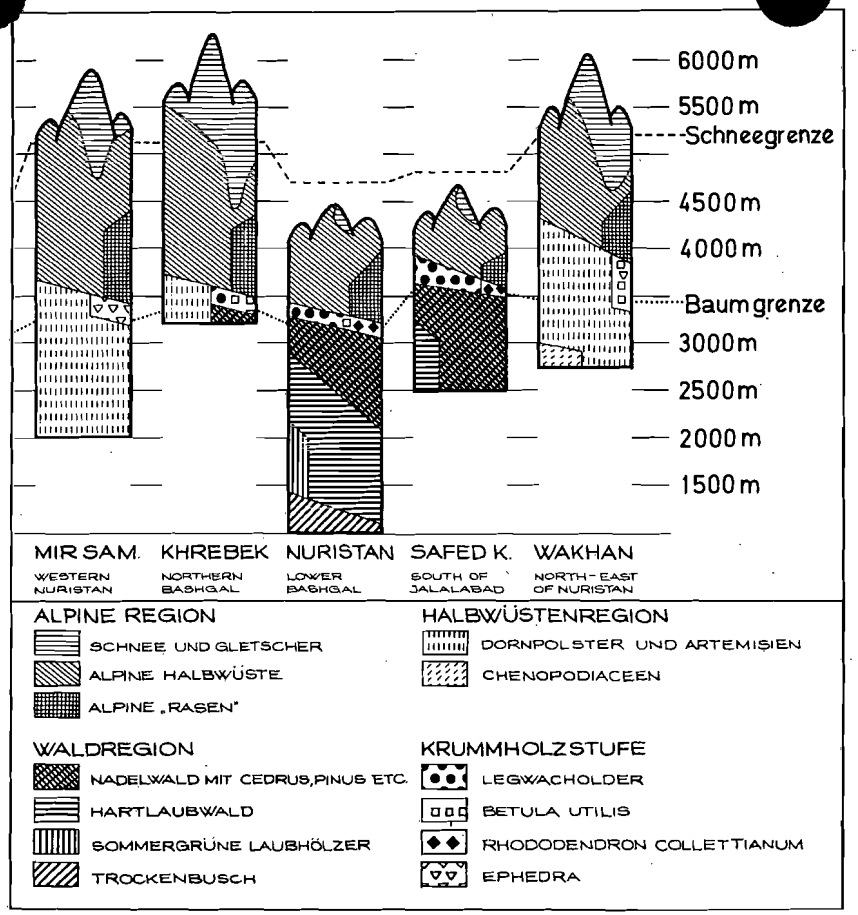


Fig. 33: Vegetation zones in Nuristan and environs (schematic). (From Breckle 1973: Abb. 5, rearranged).

In Nisheigrom (approx. 300 houses) there are formed some 40 *palae* each Spring. About the 20th of April (for the Nishei calendar, see Jones 1974: 274) they leave the winter quarters and go each to their first summer pasture, where a ceremony is held. "The people pray to God that men and livestock may be healthy, that the year may be a good one, that amongst the members of the Palae there may be happiness and peace. After sacrificing two or three goats and taking a common meal, they start

Erläuterungen:
k) (%) RF: Relative Feuchte der Luft: Luft: in 1m Höhe, frei; Ep.: innerhalb eines größeren Besrandes von *Epilobium latifolium;*

i) T_3 Bodentemperaturen je in 1 cm Tiefe (Hg-Thermometer): S-Bo. 1: Sandboden (0,5—1mm Korngröße); F-Bo. 1: Frostboden (tonreich); K-Bo. 1: Kiesboden (überwiegend 5—30mm Korngröße); H_2O: Wassertemperatur einer 2—3 cm tiefen, aber mehrere Quadratmeter großen Schmelzwasserpfütze;

h) T_2 Temperaturdifferenzen gegenüber der Lufttemperatur: Ep. So.: *Epilobium latifolium* Sonnenblatt (NTC-Fühler); Ep. So. ab.: *Epilobium latifolium* Sonnenblatt, abgeschnitten um 10.40 Uhr (siehe Pfeil); Ca. So.: *Carex nivalis* Sonnenblatt, innerhalb mehrerer windgeschützter Carex-Horste;

g) T_1 Temperaturen in ° C: Luft: Lufttemperaturen in 1 m Höhe (Aspirations-Psychrometer); F-Bo. 10: Frostboden, Temperatur in 10 cm Tiefe (Hg-Thermometer); F-Bo. 1: Frostboden, Temperatur in 1 cm Tiefe (Hg-Thermometer); M-Bo.: Moosoberfläche (NTC-Fühler);

f) Bewölkung in % der freien Himmelsfläche (geschärzt);

e) Beleuchtungsstärke in Lux, gemessen mit einfacher Photozelle (Luxmeter);

d) Windstärke (in m/sec) gemessen mit dem Schalen-Anemometer; nach oben (E) Ostwind = talauf, nach unten (W) Westwind = talab;

c) Wasserdampf-Sättigungsdefizit der Luft in Torr berechnet auf Grund der Daten des Aspirations-Psychrometers;

b) Verdunstung in mm in 50 cm Höhe über dem Boden, gemessen mit offener Schale auf der Verdunstungswaage, unter einem Zeltschattensegel;

a) Evaporation in ml/h, gemessen nach Piche in 10 cm bzw. 100 cm Höhe über dem Boden (grüne Scheibchen, 3 cm Ø).

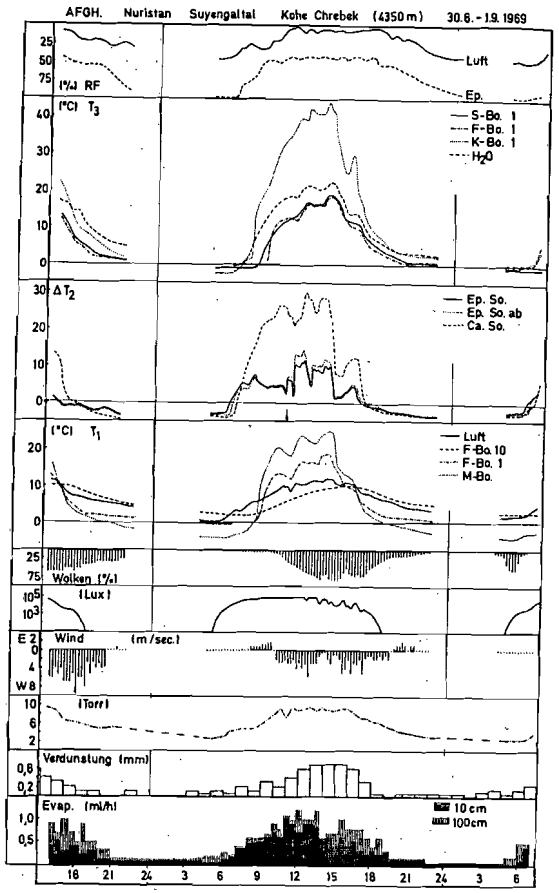


Fig. 34:
Mikroklimatischer Tagesgang vom 31. 8. 1969 in 4350 m Höhe östlich des Koh-i-Khrebek im oberen Suyengaltal (Ost-Afghanistan). (From Breckle 1973: 38).

to measure the milk. . . Hereafter that man whose animals gave the greatest quantity of milk has the right to produce *Ghi* and cheese and butter for himself by using all the milk produced by all the animals belonging to the Palae" (Nuristani 1973: 179). In other words, as Haji Faqir of Ameshdesh explained, the richest stockowner begins the dairy production. After him it is the turn of the next most wealthy, and so on.

59 *Nechingal near Kunjani-da Pass, 3 August, 1964.* A shepherd milks goats in the morning. He is a Gujur hired by a stock-owner in Kamdesh to take care of his flocks and herds.–Photo: L.E.

60

60
Yushumeshalgal, Parun Valley, 2 August, 1964. A corral for calves at a *šal* belonging to stock-owners from Shtiwe. The little boy points out a calf, the mother of which has not yet been milked this morning. The shepherd seizes the calf by its tail and urges it outside the corral, where the cows are waiting in the chill morning air. The shepherd to the left waits to get another calf.—Photo: L.E.

61

61
Yushumeshalgal, Parun Valley, 2 August, 1964. The calf runs to its mother and starts sucking. The shepherd holds its head under his left arm and prevents it from taking milk. Then he starts milking the cow, directing the milk into a bowl made of poplar wood. At the end of the milking the calf is allowed to nurse its mother again. The cows are still thin after the Winter.. Spring comes very late to Parun.—Photo: L.E.

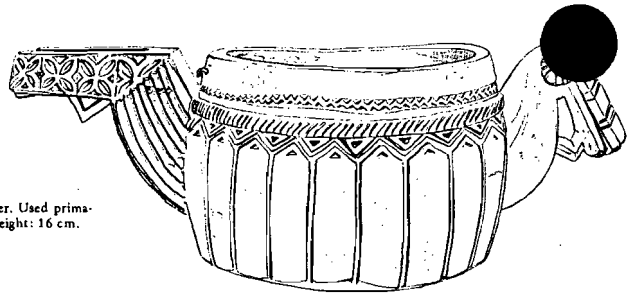


Fig. 35:
Wooden *kos* measure and pitcher. Used primarily for clarified butter (ghee). Height: 16 cm.

Fig. 36:
Shows in a simplified form the milk transactions within a *palae* of four members. The animals of member A give 40 liters milk a day, of member B 20 liters, of member C 14 liters, and of member D 10 liters. Thus all the animals of the palae produce 84 liters a day, a sufficient quantity for making cheese and clarified butter *(ghi)*. A starts to use all this milk for 20 days. Thereafter it is the turn of B to use all the milk, while A now returns the borrowed milk to B. When one cycle of transaction is completed, the next cycle begins. The duration of these cycles has to be chosen in such a way that all transactions (borrowing and returning) will be completed at the time when the animals are taken back to the winter pastures (from Nuristani 1973).

milk-taker / -giver	A 20 days	B 10 days	C 7 days	D 5 days	milk returned	milk produced
A 40 L	800 L	400 L	280 L	200 L	880 L	1680 L
B 20 L	400 L	200 L	140 L	100 L	640 L	840 L
C 14 L	280 L	140 L	98 L	70 L	490 L	588 L
D 10 L	200 L	100 L	70 L	50 L	370 L	420 L
milk borrowed	880 L	640 L	490 L	370 L	2380 L	
milk used	1680 L	840 L	588 L	420 L		3528 L

"At the end of the day, the milk from each herd is measured by *dūr* (the wooden ladle used in the saeter camps: see fig. 37). Seven *dur* equal one *čunuka* [*čuṇik'i*, Morgenstierne 1954: 244]—a large wooden vessel. Every day the man whose turn it is makes butter, ghee, and cheese. The others help him."

The outsider probably wonders why the members of the *palae* do not simply divide the production of butter, ghee, and cheeses according to the milk production from their separate herds? It may be that different stockowners want to use their share of the milk in different ways; one wanting more ghee, another wanting to make more cheeses. We do not know. Further investigations, preferably by Nuristani scholars who have worked as shepherds for a time, are needed for a better understanding of the system.

It seems likely that the move from one summer pasture to another cannot be made during one individual's turn, if only because the shepherds cannot carry the butter and cheeses from one saeter camp to the next. On the day of leaving a *šāl*, the stockowners' families come up from the village to fetch the dairy products. On this occasion Nuristani women join the men and there may be an opportunity for two lovers to meet. On other occasions it is rare to see a Nuristani woman at a *šāl*, although it may happen. Most women seen at the *šāls* are hired Gujur women. They even milk the animals (see section on The Gujurs).

When a *šāl* is left, no dairy products are left behind. "In the beginning of Autumn the Palae comes near to the village and waits until the fruits, especially walnuts and grapes, and the latest crops are harvested. The straw should be taken away from the fields and be brought to the stores for winter supply. Afterwards the animals are allowed to come to the village and to stay there for some days. This is the last part of the Palae" (Nuristani 1973: 180).

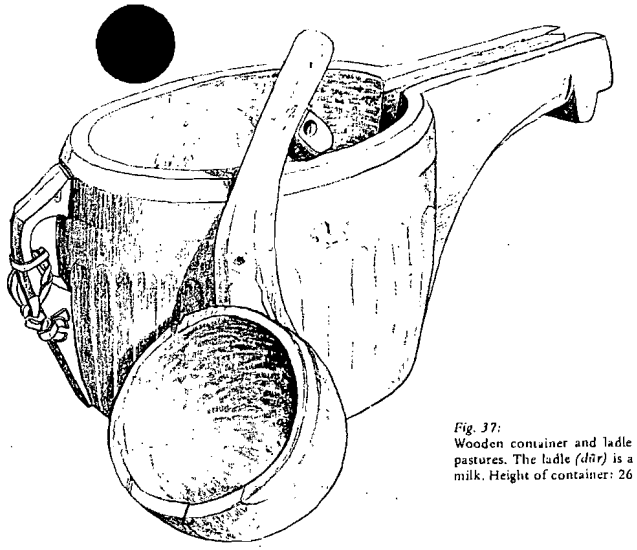


Fig. 37:
Wooden container and ladle used by shepherds in the summer pastures. The ladle *(dār)* is a common measure for quantities of milk. Height of container: 26 cm.

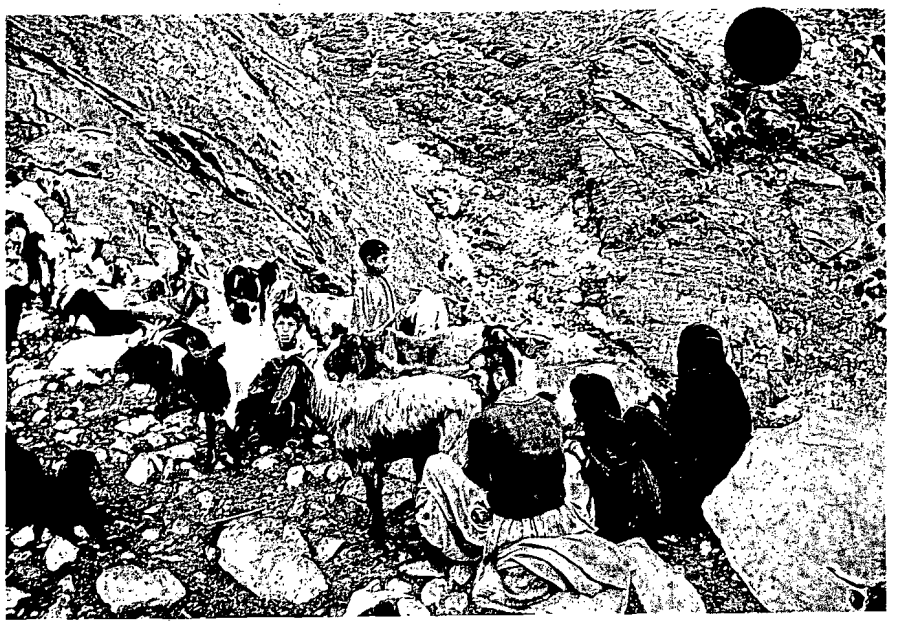
62 *Kashiragal, near pass to Tsamgal, 8 July, 1970.* The owner of the flocks and herds and his hired Gujur shepherds of both sexes are milking his goats at 8 o' clock in the morning.
The landowner is from Keshtugrom, which has grazing rights in Kashiragal. He has now come to stay overnight to supervise the work. Nuristani women usually do not participate in any work at the mountain pastures; they have their fields to take care of. But the Gujur women do their share of the milking, butter churning, and cheese making.
There were both cows and goats at this *šāl*. Its altitude is 3,520 metres. The evening before both goats and cows had been led to pastures near the *šāl*, and at 18:15 the goats were brought here for the night. At 4:50 this morning the goats were let out on the mountain pastures without being milked. The shepherds were occupied with churning and curd-making until 5:30 when the cows were milked. At 7:10 the goats were back and at 8:00 this picture was taken as the milking went on.–Photo: U.T.

63 *Kashiragal, near pass to Tsamgal, 8 July, 1970.* Same *šāl* as in picture 62. The Gujur shepherd is churning butter in a skin bag. The time is about 5 in the morning. Behind him is a cave which serves as night quarters for the shepherds and where the store of cheeses and ghee can be kept until men and women come up from Keshtagrom to fetch the dairy products.–Photo: L.E.

64 *Yushumeshalgal, 1 August, 1964.* Evening. The shepherd takes ladlefuls of boiled buttermilk and pours the whey from the curds, which he holds back by means of a twig of Juniper cedar.
The flocks and herds at this *šāl* are from Shtiwe, and have just arrived today. The shepherd is from Shtiwe, too. The altitude is about 3,500 m.–Photo: L.E.

65 *Yushumeshalgal, 1 August, 1964.* The shepherd pours curds into a little receptacle of vertical slates on top of the stone wall outside the *šāl* itself. The last of the liquid will evaporate next day as the air gets extremely dry during day-time (less than 7% relative humidity, Breckle 1973). If salt from Minjan is available, the curds may be salted.–Photo: L.E.

66 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, September, 1960.* On these two hearths, side by side on a verandah, all the daily household cooking is done. In the foreground is an upturned wooden bowl for mixing bread dough. An iron tripod supports an aluminium kettle from Pakistan. Three steatite griddle supports, carved in the shape of rams, sit in the ashes (see picture 38). A metal water pipe stands by the hearth. A large round griddle for making bread leans against the wall. In the background is a fine pre-Muslim chair bearing rank symbols. The teapot was made in Czarist Russia by an English porcelain maker named Gardner, whose products are much appreciated in Nuristan.–Photo: S.J.



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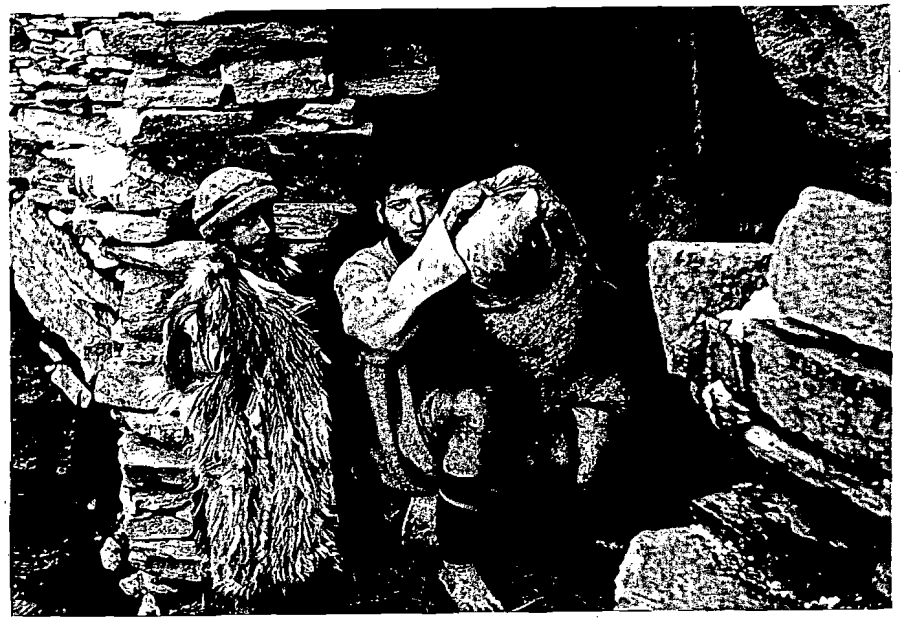

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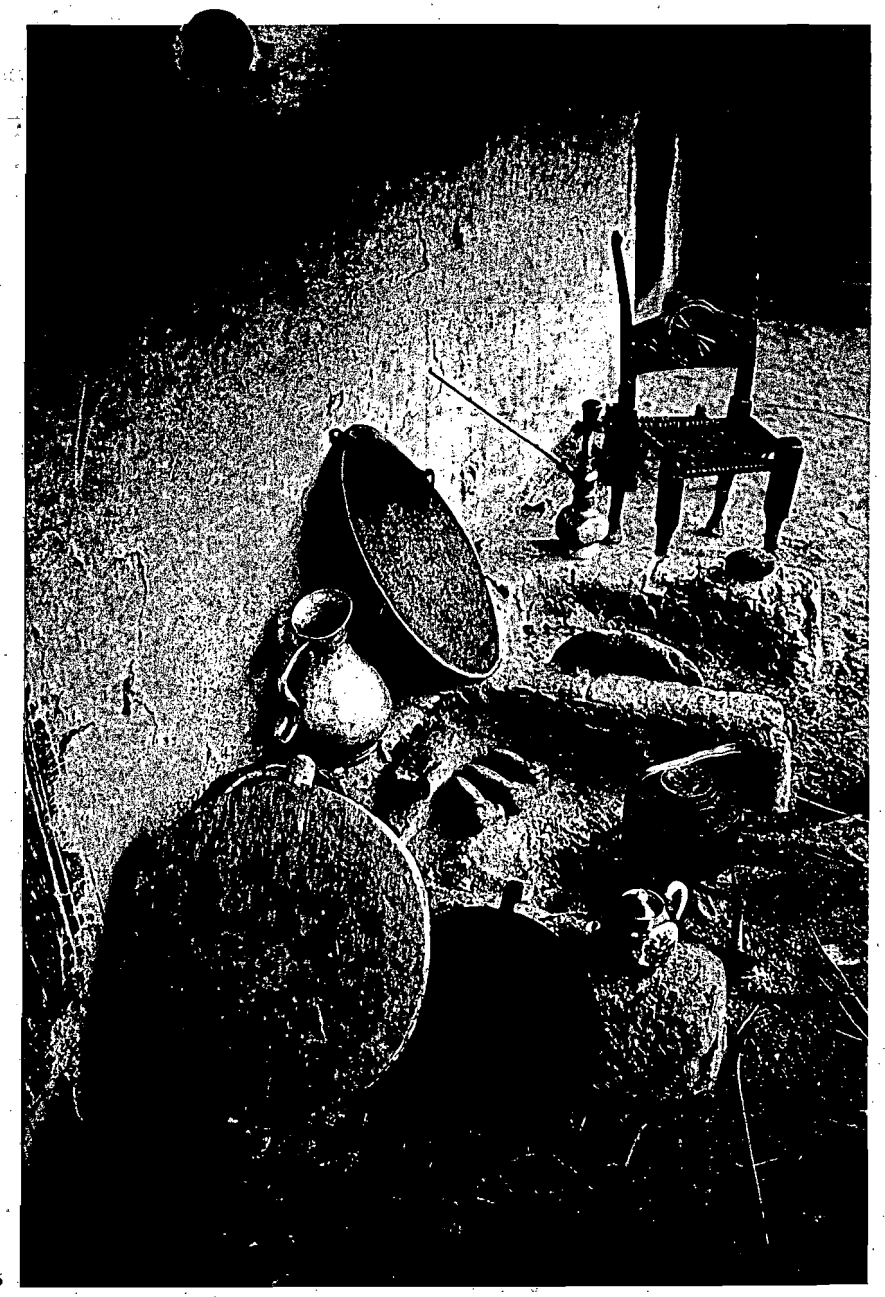


Shepherd's Wages—Winter

	Keshtagrom/Kamdesh Motamedi 1956: 17 — 1953: diary Strand 1975: 126–128
Goatherd	passamach/patsemoch
Number of goats under each shepherd's care usually:	100
Per 100 goats under shepherd's care the stockowner will pay:	5 goats
The stockowner will provide the shepherd with:	bread, milk, cheese, a coat of goatskin *(sonogi)*, a belt *(bamashte)*, a cap *(shookagar)*, skin to wrap around the feet (see picture 74—*kerpelno)*, a pair of puttees (see picture 63—*patu)*, an axe *(wenzo, achou)*.
Cowherd	*goüzazhilë* i.e. 'cow-grass-thrower'
Number of cows under herdsman's care:	up to 20
If the herdsman provides his own food the stockowner will pay him:	3 goats and perhaps a suit of new clothes
If the stockowner provides the herdsman with food the stockowner will pay him:	1 1/2 goats

Shepherd's Wages—Summer

	Keshtagrom Motamedi 1953: diary 1956: 17	*Kamdesh* Strand 1975: 126–128	*Parun*	*Ameshdesh* Jones 1969: diary
Goatherd		palë	heï-uza	
Shepherd			wami-uza	
Cowherd			got-uza	
Number of goats/cows under shepherd's care, usually:	100 goats or up to 20 cows	100 goats or up to 20 cows		100 goats
The stockowner will pay the shepherd:	if fed by the stockowner: 3 goats if on his own food: 5 goats	if paid in advance: 3 lactating goats with kids if paid at end of season: 1 cow with calf or 5 goats with kids	1 cow or 6 goats (Motamedi) Wool from the first sheep-shearing after the end of the summer season*	per cow under shepherd's care: 6÷2= 4 *kos* ghee and 18÷6= 12 *kila* (=cheese of 7 kg; yield per cow being: 6 *kos* ghee and 18 *kila* per summer)
In addition the shepherd will receive:		per day: 2 ladlefuls of milk or buttermilk		
The foreman of a group of herdsmen will receive:		for example: 1 lactating cow with calf in advance		

*Wool taken in the summer-month of *sumi-la* belongs to the stockowner.

Saeter camps are numerous in Nuristan, both in the forest zone and on the alpine pastures. They were first described by Robertson in the Kati area (1896: 137 and 497–499) under the name 'grazing farm' or *pshál*. In the following account we use the Waigali term *šāl* to describe the herdsmen's shelters and the livestock pens. The term seems to cover both the winter stables and the pens and shelters at the summer pastures. In Parun they distinguish between winter stables in the immediate vicinity of the village *(yuġu, üux, üy'uk)*, and the summer livestock pens, the real saeter camps *(təwət)*.

These mountain pasture camps are centres of dairy production activities throughout the summer. Here the animals are milked twice a day, here the curds are prepared, the cheeses and, often, the ghee is made–all products for which Nuristan is well known.

It is said that in pre-Muslim times the herdsmen milked their animals at midday and at midnight, and thus every member of the *palae* had to return to the camp at midday (Nuristani 1973: 181). In an 'Improvisation' from Lener in Western Nuristan in 1935 Lentz makes the following remarks: "... Wenn es Tag wird, wollen wir aufstehen. Bring das Vieh frühzeitig auf die Weide. Mittags bring es zurück! Ich brachte es mittags zurück" (D.i.H. 1937: 275). But neither Lentz's informant nor Yusuf Nuristani says anything about what the herdsmen did with their animals from midday until midnight. Perhaps they let them graze in the immediate vicinity of the *šāl*.

The following account is based on our own experience: The *šāl* is not only the goats' and cows' pens on a mountain pasture, but also includes a hut or cave for the herdsmen, their implements and utensils, and their stock of curds, cheeses, and ghee. There may be different *šāls* within the same grazing grounds, but we need to map the *šāls* of Nuristan, or at least all the *šāls* within a special area.

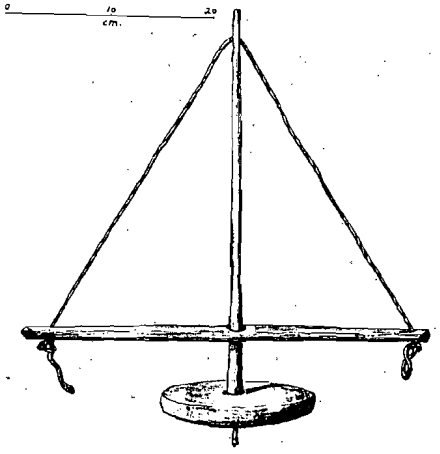
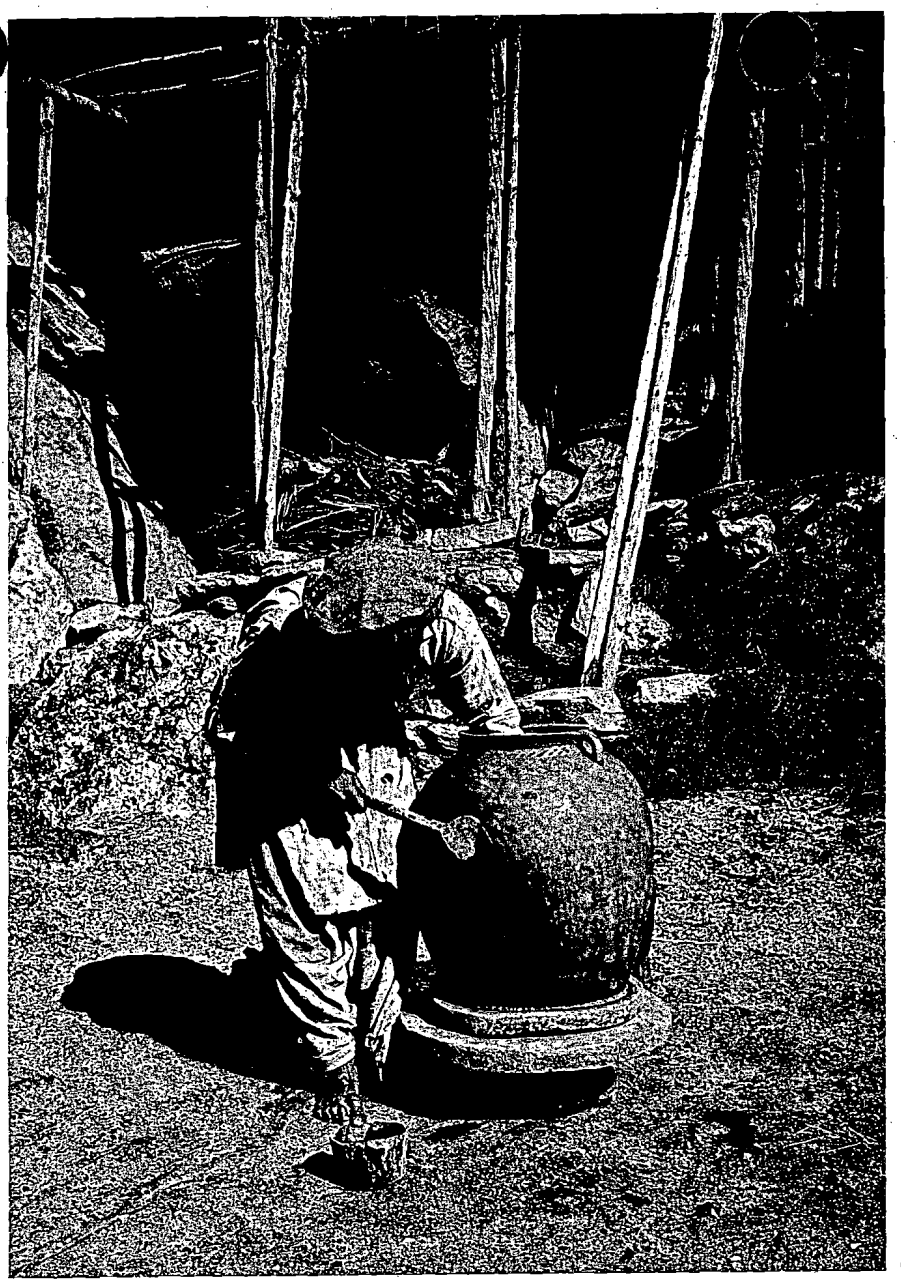


Fig. 38: Pump-drill.

67 *Bāri potter at work in the village of Ameshdesh, Waigal Valley, 1 September 1969.* The potter's wheel is unknown in Nuristan; instead a wooden turntable is used and the work slowly rotated so that the potter can stand in one place to shape his pots. Here the final surface is being achieved by patting the wet clay with a wooden paddle. The left hand, inside the pot, supports the wall with a smooth rounded piece of wood. The potter slowly rotates the turntable with his left foot.–Photo: S.J.

68 *Machwa, Ashkun Area, 1 January, 1961.* Men winding goat hair yarn. Two separate strands of yarn are being wound together to produce a single heavy length for weaving (see picture 30).–Photo: S.J.

69 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, September, 1960.* A young man, using two slightly curved sticks as flails, threshes grain on the rooftop. Later the straw will be collected and stored and the grain winnowed. The wooden 'box' in the lower left hand corner of the picture is the cover of the smoke hole for the room below.–Photo: S.J.



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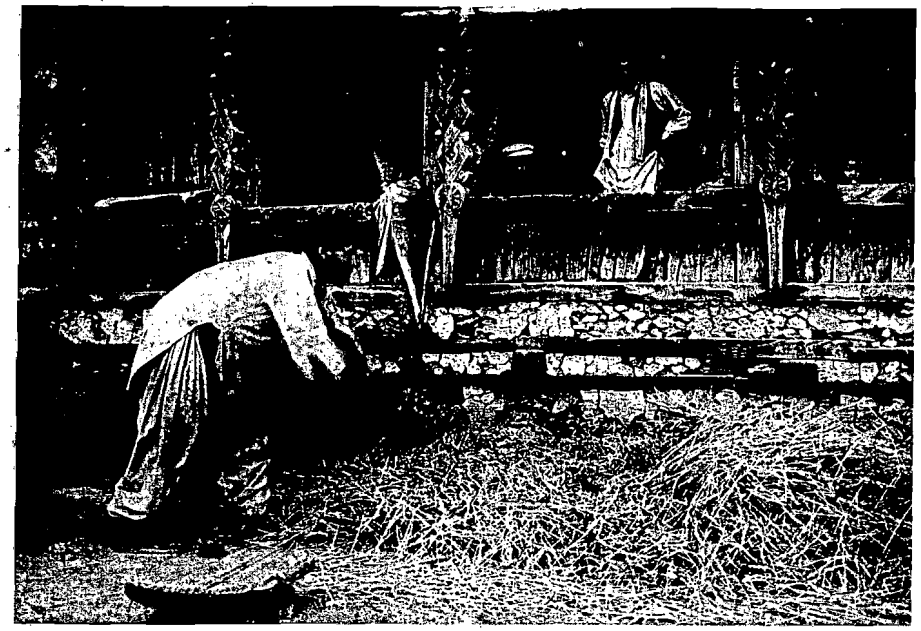

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Each *šal* belongs to a certain man, who has either built it or has got it by inheritance, but it may be used by the several families constituting a cooperative *palae*. The area of the *šal* may be indicated by a set of markers built up of slates to the height of a man. Usually there is a paved area in addition to the *šal* with a little stone-built *miḥrāb*, where the herdsmen can say their prayers. A *minbar* with two steps and a seat neatly built of stones may be found too.

Most of the area round the *šal* is covered with dung from the animals and has a brownish colour. Because of this over-manuring, only a few plants grow here. The area is divided into sections for different work purposes. A certain space is set aside for assembling the goats for the night and it is fenced at points where the goats might escape, the entrance being furnished with a wicker-work gate. Small roofed-over pens with shutters, often of slate, are arranged for the kids, so that they can only take milk from their mothers when allowed to. There are also two separate walled enclosures for the calves and the cows; the walls help prevent wolves and leopards from taking livestock at night, and the huge guard dogs also contribute to the security. Anyone approaching a *šal* by night or day is recommended to collect stones with which to keep the guard dogs at a distance.

At a few *šals* there is a watch tower, built like a stronghold (see Robertson 1896:307), similar to the village towers in Parun Valley, though smaller. Such towers have been noted in upper Papruk or Graman Valley.

Normally the cows are brought from the surrounding pastures to the *šal* in the late afternoon. Then the milking starts. From the cave or hut the herdsmen collect the wooden containers which usually have been made in Parun or the upper Bashgal Valley. A small boy who has got permission to accompany the livestock and herdsmen to the saeters, keeps an eye on the cows and from the pen he gets the calf whose mother the herdsman is going to milk. The milking starts with the calf being allowed to briefly suckle its mother (see pictures 60 and 61). Of the four teats usually only three are used by the herdsman when milking, the fourth is left for the calf. If the calf has died, its skin is stuffed and powdered with salt. When milking, the herdsman will hold the stuffed calf (Kt: *wat'čeri'čom)* under his left arm as if it was the living one. The cow licks the skin and releases its milk. Normally the living calf is allowed to suckle its mother at the end of the milking. Thus the milk with the highest fat content is taken by the herdsman.

There may be ten or twenty cows to milk, and in the meantime the goatherd is approaching with his flock. Some of the goats lie down to ruminate while the herdsmen are milking others. From the pen where the kids are kept there comes a loud incessant bleating. The goatherd who has tended the flock all day on the pastures stands on a big rock surveying the scene, apparently deep in thought. He is taking a census of some kind—probably not just by counting his animals. Each cow, goat, and sheep has its special descriptive term, rather than an individual name.

> In Keshtagrom ten different terms referring to the appearance of the adult cow were recorded. In Pronz 12 different terms relating to the age of bulls, whether castrated or not, the age of a calf or cow, and whether with calf or not, were recorded. To these terms ten more referring to colour, blaze, horns, and ears can be added. For goats it is about the same. For sheep only seven terms were recorded, but at that time the informant was probably tired. For horses only three terms: stallion, mare and foal. Horses are not kept in Parun, but come occasionally with traders from Minjan.

The goatherd is probably looking to see if he misses a certain face.

The bull is rumbling round in the dusk as if seeing the cows for the first time that day. The rams are more quiet. All the herdsmen, young and old, are busy except the one standing on the rock.

Now the milking of the goats begins. The kids are still penned up and their bleating is more insistent than ever. They are impatient for their turn. After the milking and when the kids have got their share, the goats are led to the enclosure where they will spend the night.

From the hut or cave where the herdsmen stay the reflection of the fire illuminates the nearest boulders and cliffs. There seems to be no moment during the night when everyone is asleep. Now someone is churning butter, another is throwing firewood in over the threshold, someone else is kneading the dough, others are fetching water. A water channel may be constructed near the hut so that milk for cheese-making can be kept cool until the next morning.

Inside the hut or cave it is very cosy. A calf may lie so near the fire that its eyelashes curl in the heat. The kids, now satisfied with life, nibble at everything in reach. The herdsmen get out their flutes; the wooden containers or axe heads are used for drumming the rhythm, and songs are sung.

Before five next morning the goats are taken out to the pastures without having been milked. The milk intended for butter-making has been poured into wooden containers and butter churns the day before. The clabber remaining in these receptacles will make the new milk sour for the following morning.

Churning Butter

When the sour milk has turned into clabber, it is ready for churning. The herdsman then pours the contents of the container into the butter churn (which is an inflated goat skin) using a wooden funnel (see fig. 32) held in the neck opening of the skin.

> The butter churn: A skin that is to be made into a churn is prepared in the following way (Zhönchigal, 1954): a goat is skinned so that the skin comes off in one continuous piece. The hair side, which is now inward, is rubbed with a mixture of water and ashes, and left overnight. Next day the skin is turned with the hair side outwards and the hair is removed by hand. After that the skin is fully inflated, and left to dry. This type of butter churn will last for about one month. During the summer a *palae* will use five or six of these 'butter skins'.

When the churn is filled one fifth with clabber and white whey–*uštuwä*–from the cheese-making (see following section)–the shepherd may add some water. He then puts his mouth to the neck opening and inflates the skin. The opening is then tied securely and the herdsman finds a convenient place, often the doorway, where he sits down on a stool or a stone to do the churning (see picture 63). He rocks the inflated skin and its contents rhythmically to and fro over his knees, now raising one knee and then the other. By peering into the skin now and then the herdsman can see when the butter and buttermilk have separated. When this has happened, the buttermilk is poured into some metal pot and warmed on the fire. The casein (part of the protein) will then precipitate as curds from the whey. The buttermilk whey contains the milk sugar, very little fat, and some soluble proteins, the albumins. What is later done with the whey is described in the section on cheese-making.

The herdsman separates the curds from the whey by filtering with a twig of juniper cedar when transferring the whey from one pot to another by means of a ladle. The twig keeps the curds back. The curds are put into special compartments made of vertically arranged pieces of slate on the top of the *šāl* wall (see pictures 64 and 65). Here the curds dry quickly in the air. The relative humidity of the air at the mountain pastures drops to less than 10% in the daytime so that water quickly evaporates (Breckle 1973: 38. See fig. 34).

While someone is churning, others have started milking the cows–a task that might be finished by

about six a.m. After that the cows are taken in small groups to the pastures by their own herdsmen. The calves are led to a separate pasture by another herdsman; the calves are not with the cows during daytime.

About 7 a.m. the goats return from their morning grazing and lie down in the sun ruminating. In the morning there are usually few clouds, and the sunshine is warm (see fig. 34). After about an hour they are milked. On the alpine pastures cows' as well as goats' milk is normally used for butter making (from which ghee is later made in the village). But if it is late summer and the livestock are back down in the forest zone where firewood is available, the goats' milk will mostly be used for cheese making (see chart of milk products on the following page and the section on cheese making below).

About 9 a.m. the goats finally leave the *šāl* to stay away for the greater part of the day. They are led to a separate pasture by the goatherd, who is accompanied by one of the big dogs.

So the cows, the calves, the goats, and–especially in Parun–the sheep, all graze separately during the day. The dogs are not trained to collect the flocks. This is done by the shepherd who whistles in a certain fashion and throws stones behind the animals on the periphery of the group. It is important that the shepherd keeps a close eye on the animals under his care. The first signs of illness must be noticed. Rabies is recognized, though it is rare, and if found in dogs or livestock, the affected animals are killed immediately.

It is part of a shepherd's duties to see that the livestock in his care get sufficient salt. Until recently, salt was brought over the main range by Minjanis who travelled down the Parun Valley. Three horse loads of salt being valued at the rate of one cow; one horse load having the value of one ewe with lamb. Salt is given by hand or from the surface of a flat stone in summer; in the hard winters of Parun salt is given to livestock on a board. Nuristanis say that the salt stimulates the appetite, so the animals thrive.

Cheese Making

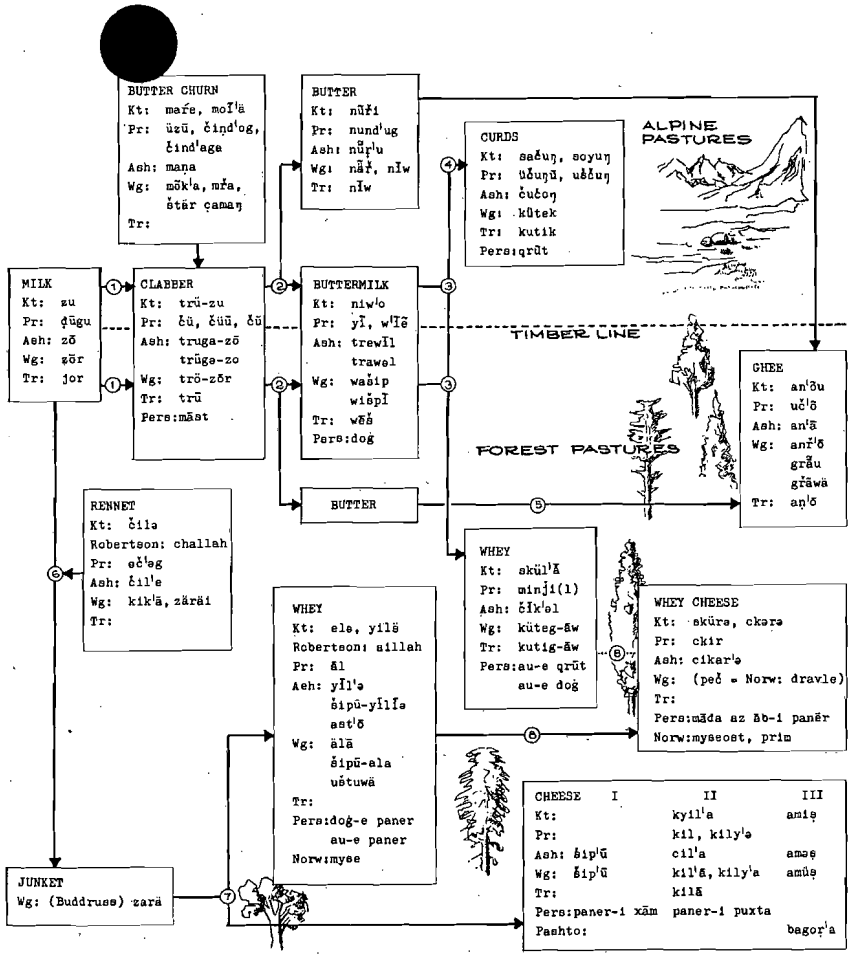
We have already mentioned the buttermilk curds which Nuristani herdsmen dry in compartments on the *šāl* wall. In this section we describe the making of rennet cheese and whey cheese.

Rennet: The abomasum–the 'rennet stomach' *(giriw'-a)* of a young kid is inflated, tied up, and hung in the smoke of the fireplace. Between six days and one month later, according to need, a hole is made in it, and milk poured into the dried stomach. Again it is left to dry hard. After some time it is pulverized and put into a flask made of a pumpkin that is filled with whey from cheese making (compare with Robertson 1896: 556). The contents are stirred and if lumps form they must be removed by further stirring. After three days the mixture will taste bitter and it is ready for use. It is now called *zäräi.* In Nisheigrom *zarä* means '3 Tage alte Milch' that is used for cheese making (Buddruss: personal communication).

Cheese:

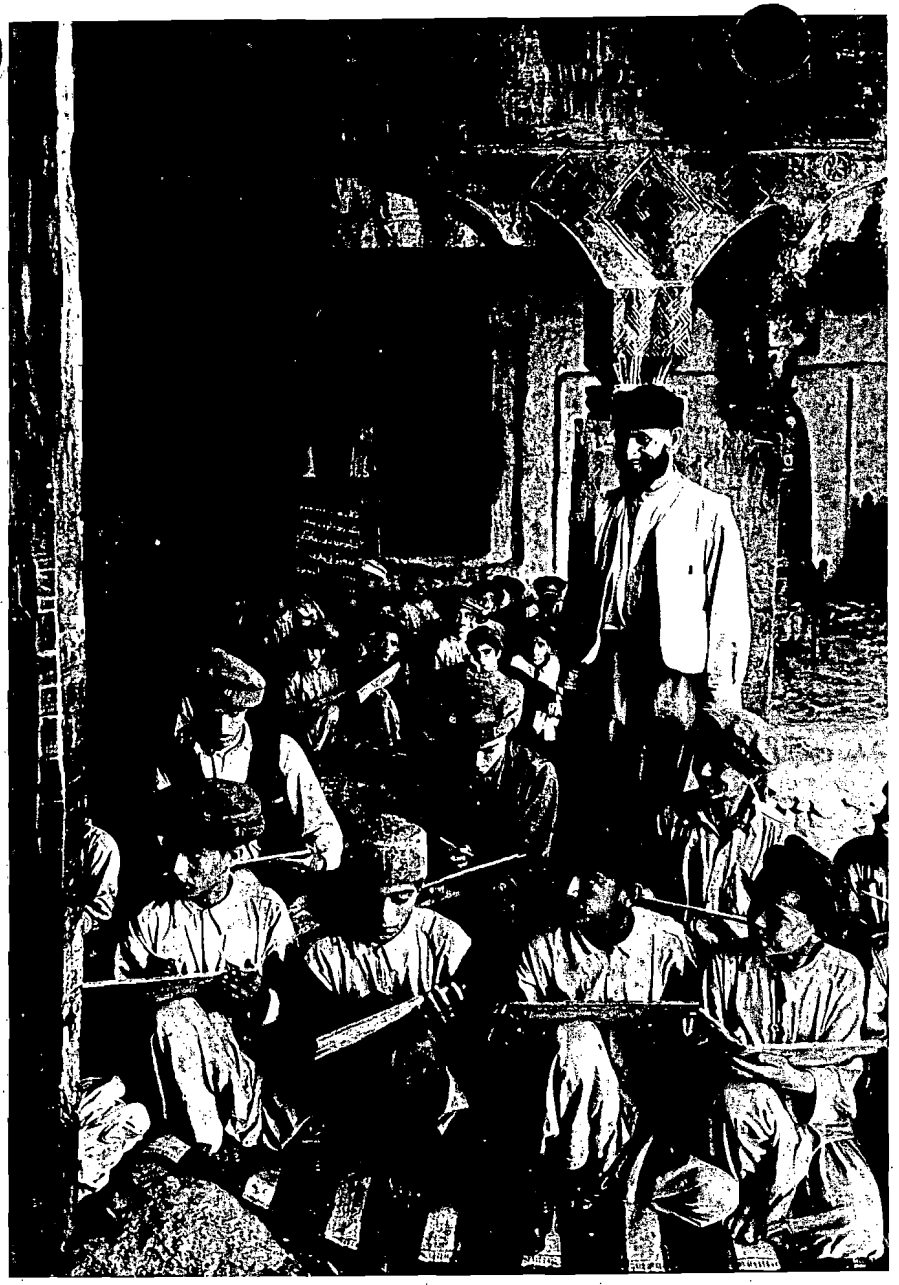
At least three kinds of rennet cheese are made in Nuristan: *kil'ā, amüṣ,* and *šip'ū.* Some of these cheese-types are regionally determined. In the Waigal Valley, as mentioned earlier, they distinguish between two areas: the Northern Wardesh/Kilakara and the Southern Chimanishei/Amüshkara.

Kil'ā is made in Wardesh Kilakara, i.e., the villages of Jamach, Ameshdesh, Zhönchigal, and Waigal. It is also made in Dungul, Tsukui, Dewi, Gimiri, and Katar. Finally, it is made in Kontia (Kun), Kamdesh, and Ktiwi.



1. The milk turns sour and clabber is formed.
2. The clabber is churned (picture 63).
3. The buttermilk is heated and the curds are separated from the whey (picture 64).
4. The curds are dried in the open air (picture 65).
5. The butter is clarified, to make ghee.
6. The milk is curdled with rennet.
7. The junket is heated and the casein and fat (cheese) are separated from the whey and its milk sugar.
8. The whey is boiled to evaporate the water, leaving whey cheese as a residue. We do not know if the same procedure is carried out with buttermilk whey.

Note: The chart distinguishes between dairy practices carried out above and below the timber line; it does not attempt to distinguish between those dairy practices that are confined to certain levels within the forest zone.



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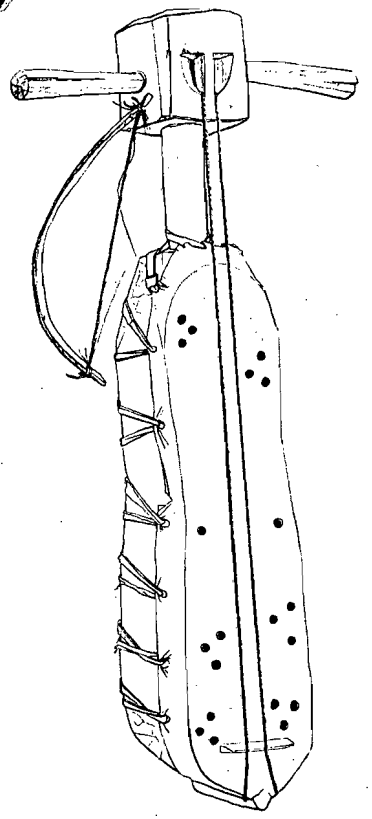


Fig. 39:
Sarangi made by Amir Shah of Berimdesh in 1968 – reputedly now the only man who knows how to make this instrument. Length: 62 cm.

70 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, August, 1960.* Using the mosque as a school, a class of boys learn to read and write Pushtu. They write on wood with cane pens using a washable ink. When the text has been learned, the board is wiped clean for the next lesson. The schoolmaster takes attendance each morning at home while drinking tea on his verandah. As each boy goes to school he stops by the schoolmaster's house, says good morning, drops a piece of wood on the verandah, and proceeds to school. The schoolmaster has his tally of the day's attendance and his wife has a supply of firewood.–Photo: S.J.

71 *Keshtagrom, Nechingal Valley, 5 July, 1970.* In a newly built house downstream from the village a shoemaker has set up his workshop under a roofed verandah. Until recently the craftsmen were required to have their houses only in a special part of the village. Now there is a tendency for villages to spread. Roofed-over verandahs were earlier only for the houses of the landowners.–Photo: L.E.

72 *Titin, Ashkun area, 8 January, 1961.* Heavy crocheted goat hair socks with leather soles are often worn in Nuristan in winter, although both men and women think nothing of walking for miles barefooted in the snow.–Photo: S.J.

73 *Keshtagrom (Kushtoz), Nechingal Valley, September, 1960.* These red coloured goatskin shoes are very popular in Nuristan. They are usually kept for 'best' wear and a man or woman going on a visit to another village will usually walk the whole way barefooted, putting on such shoes only when approaching the place to be visited. The leather has not been tanned, so great care is taken to avoid getting the shoes wet, as the leather will get stiff.–Photo: S.J.

74 *Māēn (Main), Ashkun area, 29 December, 1960.* For winter travel in the mountains a common form of footwear is a goatskin wrapped round the foot and ankle with the hair inside and held in place with rawhide cord.–Photo: S.J.

According to information from Wama this kind of cheese is made in Spring and Summer. This raises the question of whether it is made before the alpine pastures have been reached. We do not know the answer. When making this cheese buttermilk is taken, as much as two cups, and mixed with rennet. This mixture is also called *zäräi* (in Wama: *ay'ō).* It is poured into milk fresh from that same morning (Wama)—milk that has stood by the fire until lukewarm. The milk curdles, but it is stirred again and again until it finally curdles into lumps which are taken out and pressed to remove the whey *(älā),* as in picture 57. At the end, the last liquid pressed out of the cheese lumps is white like milk. This white whey is called *uštuwä;* in Wama: *ast'ō.*

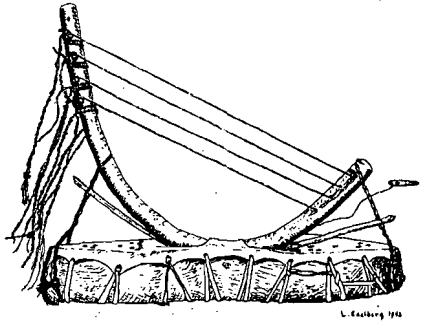
The white whey is poured into the butter churn together with the clabber which has developed during the night from the previous evening's milk, and the mixture is churned. In Wama they say they use four portions of *ast'ō* to one portion of clabber. In this season the daily work is arranged so that cheese is made in the early morning and then, using the resulting *uštuwä / ast'ō,* butter is made later that same day.

The lumps of cheese are pressed hard down into wooden bowls (see fig. 31) and the cheese is lamellated to a certain extent by the pressure. Then the cheese, having taken its form from the bowl, is taken out and put in a cool place until next morning, when it is turned upside down. Finally the cheese is left on shelves under the ceiling of the *šāl* for fermentation. Such cheese may keep for up to one year.

Amüṣ is made in *Chimanishei / Amüshkara,* i.e., the villages of Nisheigrom, Kegal, Chimi, and Muldesh. It is also made in Kamdesh and Keshtagrom.

To make this cheese a big fire is made under a tripod holding a bowl of milk. This milk is thoroughly boiled. After boiling, cheese whey *(älā)* is poured into the milk and the mixture is boiled again. Probably there is enough rennet in the cheese whey to produce the necessary effect. The milk will curdle, and the lumps of cheese are taken out with a ladle and put into a big wooden container where they are left for awhile so that more whey of the *uštuwä*-type can drain off. Finally the lumps are put into a sack and hung so that the last whey will run off.

Fig. 40: The Nuristani harp. Traditionally the strings were made of tendons from the backbone of a deer. Today they are of nylon.



75 *Waigal Village, Waigal Valley, 19 July, 1964.* A wooden aqueduct leads water round a steep cliff. The craftsmen have put the channels on top of ladder-like poles so that they can climb up when the channels need cleaning or repairs.
Even if the cliffs in these deep V-shaped valleys look damp and may be covered with ivy and other epiphyts, the terraced fields lack ground water and need regular irrigation. And even here—as well as on the mountain pastures—the relative humidity may be extemely low during daytime (less than 15% cf. text p. 25 and diagram p. 26).—Photo: L.E.

78

78
Keshtagrom, Nechingal Valley, 23 October, 1970. Chill noonday drizzle. The village is seen between a walnut tree on the left and an oak to the right, the latter covered with vines from which the grapes have been harvested. Clouds of cold mist hang round the forests and reach down to the rocky cliffs on the other side of the Nechingal Valley.–Photo: T.F.

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Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, 24 September, 1953. On the day of the grape harvest men climb trees in which the vines are entwined, to cut free the clusters of grapes. The grapes are collected in small baskets that are lowered down to the ground from the tree tops. Here a woman has taken the bunches from a small basket and put them in her own larger basket to carry them to the village. The grapes grow so tight together in bunches that they take form from their neighbours. The grapes are dark-blue, sweet, and most refreshing.–Photo: K.F.

Fig. 41:
Stone vat for pressing grapes. In the garden of Indrakun at Wama (Masson 1842: I 228).

According to Buddruss (personal communication) *amüṣ* is a kind of soft cheese which probably resembles the Pashto *baqor'a*. It is possible that the method has been imported from the neighbouring Pashto areas.

The difference in procedure between *kil'ā* making and *amüṣ* making lies, according to our informant from Zhönchigal, in the boiling and in the use of the sack. But it should be emphasized that this description comes from Zhönchigal, where they do not make *amüṣ*. It may therefore be inaccurate in some details.

Šip'ū is a third kind of rennet cheese. According to Buddruss it corresponds to the Persian *paner-i xām*, 'roher Käse'. According to information given in Wama, this cheese is made in Autumn. That may mean that it is made when the livestock are back in the forest zone.

In Wama the procedure for making *šip'ū* is as follows: Rennet is poured directly into the milk, i.e., rennet is not first mixed with buttermilk. This cheese is very fat and therefore considered to be the best.

Whey cheese can only be made where sufficient firewood is available. It should be remembered that in some cheese making it is only necessary to warm or bring the milk to a boil, but when making whey cheese, the water has to be removed by evaporation. This requires five times as many units of energy to accomplish.

Cheese whey, *ālā / šipū-ālā*, contains more fat than buttermilk whey, *küteg-āw*. When boiled it separates into 'water' and a gruel-like residue called *pēč*. This *pēč* must be the equivalent of the Norwegian *dravle*, consisting of albumins which surround the fat that is present. In Nuristan *pēč* is eaten fresh. The 'water' is given to the dogs.

Cheese and probably also buttermilk whey can be further boiled to evaporate the water so as to concentrate the milk sugar. This is the whey cheese (Norwegian: *myseost)* in its most common form.

Few things in the world require more energy than bringing water to the boil, and—even more energy-extravagant—to evaporate the water to concentrate the content. Cheese making in the alpine pastures of Europe, and especially the production of whey-cheese *(myseost)* in Norway, has greatly reduced the original forest cover. In Norway particularly, the birch-zone has suffered from the great amounts of firewood needed to make this kind of cheese.

In Nuristan the uppermost forest zone nearest the mountain pastures is comprised of juniper cedar *(Juniperus excelsa* M.B.), which has made it possible for the people to make intensive practical use of their mountain pastures and to develop cheese production, not only in quantity but also in quality, to a standard unknown elsewhere in Afghanistan. The cost of this has been a thinning out of the juniper cedar forest zone. The lower forest zones are probably not much threatened by the use of firewood for cheese making. They are at even greater risk from another source (see final chapter).

Strand has called attention to the fact that an increased demand for arable land has resulted in the extensive clearing of forests above Kamdesh. The background of this is a general decline in herding in that area. The young men do not want to be herdsmen. And the hiring of Gujur herdsmen causes other serious problems (see p. 100). A result is a decline in the quality of the Kam (Kom) diet. "Families that lack dairy products make up for the loss of quantity with an increase in the amount of corn bread [maize bread] they eat, but they do not compensate for the loss of quality by increasing their protein and calcium intake from other sources" (Strand 1975: 133). A change of diet may have even more serious consequences. Recent unpublished investigations (the Finsen Institute, Copenhagen) seem to show that in milk products, and especially whey, elements may be found that are important in the body's fight against malignant neoplasms (cancer). For this reason, and because health investigations among populations living outside the food network of the industrialized countries are extremely rare, we consider that such investigations among the Nuristanis might be undertaken without delay. Not only Nuristan would profit from such research (see Clemmesen 1965, vol. I: 530).

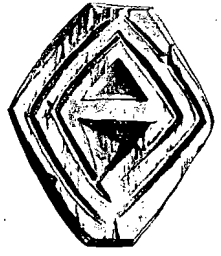

Fig. 42:
Meaning varies according to village and informant, but: *gūča*, "moustaches", or *ustuma kera* (*bāri* Din Mohammed, Nisheigrom, 27 February, 1968).

80 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, 24 September, 1953.* Malik (H)aji Mohammad, Žü-deri (right) and another landowner enjoy the first grapes, which they have collected from a woman's basket. They lean on the railing of a verandah carved with symbols of rank.—Photo: L.E.

81 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, 24 September, 1953.* Jujubes, the sweet fruits from *Zizyphus vulgaris* Lam., are dried on carpets spread out on the verandah. The corner of the house to the right displays an unusual construction feature: a *pik'ū* has been stuck through holes made in the projecting ends of the horizontal logs, *bun'ē*. Leaning against the house wall (foreground) is a broad plank tapered off toward the upper end. Such planks are the Nuristani equivalent of the prayer carpets of the nomads of Afghanistan, and the tapered end is laid towards Mecca when in use.—Photo: L.E.

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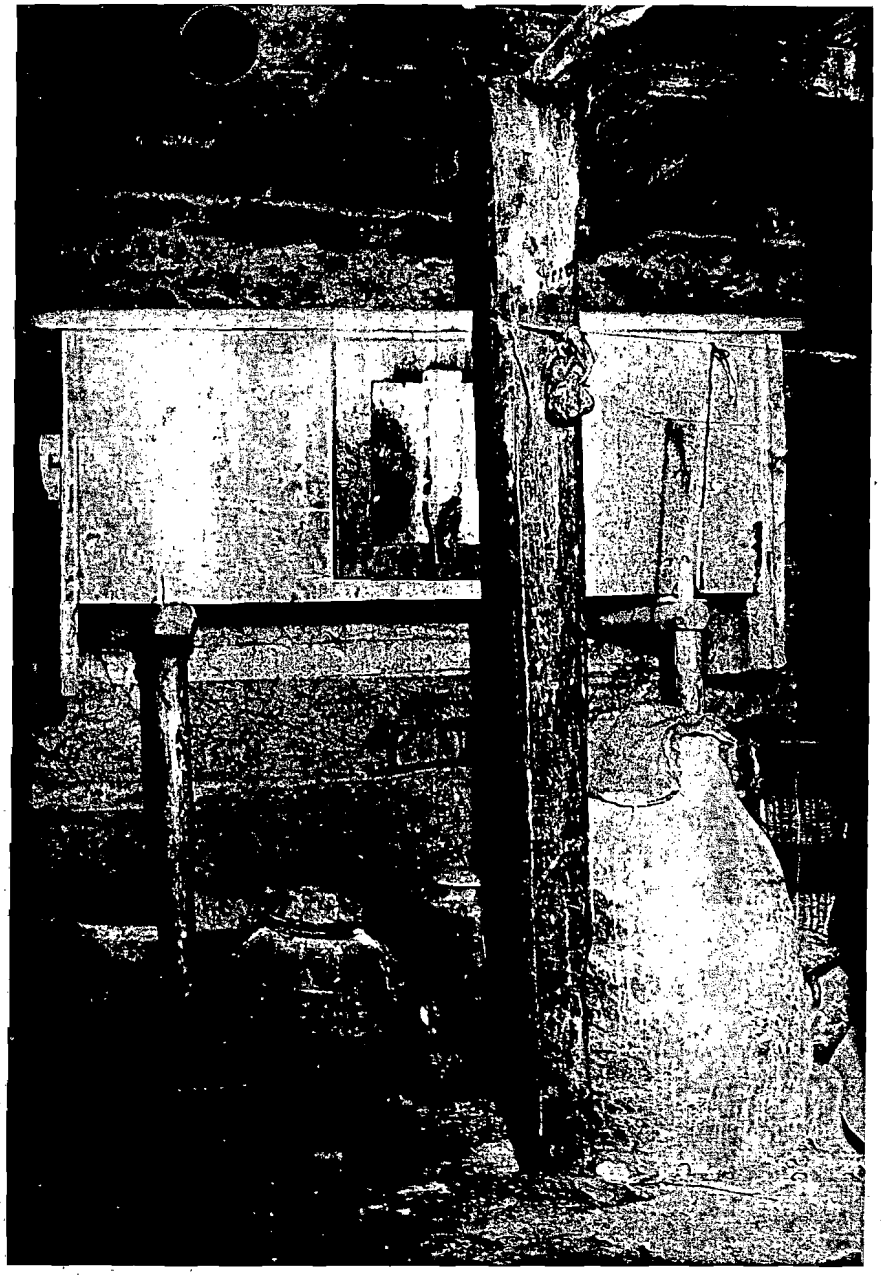

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It should be understood that investigations of milk products in Nuristan are incomplete and often various things may have been misinterpreted. Future fieldworkers would do well to focus on the economic production and the ecology of the mountain pastures of Nuristan.

TIME-RECKONING AND ECOLOGICAL BALANCE

In his fundamentally important book *Zeitrechnung in Nuristan und am Pamir* (Berlin 1939; reprint Graz, 1978) Professor Wolfgang Lentz makes a clear distinction between Southern Nuristani arable agricultural calendars (Südnuristanischer Ackerbaukalender) and the 'Pasture Calendars' (Weidekalender) of the Kati and Paruni. The distinction is basic to an understanding of these systems.

When dealing with the rôle that the calendar system plays in the lives of villagers in Nuristan, one of the main problems is to discover whether the calendar is a cause or whether it is an effect. In other words, do the Nuristani know that it is a certain time of the year because they are now occupied with certain activities, or are they involved in these activities because they know from astronomical observations, either made by themselves or someone with specialist knowledge, that it is now a certain time of the year?

It is quite possible that the 'months' of the Southern Nuristani arable agricultural calendars are, to a large extent, post-rationalizations: "It must now be the month of *dra:žl'etr.*" "Why?" "Well, because we are harvesting the grapes." But the problem has not yet been sufficiently investigated.

We know too little about the calendars of the upper Bashgal and upper Ramgal to risk saying anything about them. When we turn to the pasture calendars of Parun we still know very little, but perhaps enough—as we shall try to show—to say that there is an economic (and that actually means an ecological) basis for the calendar system. If the mountain pastures are to be utilized sensibly, which means not only using them now, but protecting them for the future, an ingenious system of rules is necessary. And such rules have been in force in Nuristan for generations. If a calendar system is based on simple astronomical observations, then it works as long as you are your own master, and the Paruni may have been their own masters in their valley and its surrounding mountains for some thousands of years. We can only guess what will happen when they come under pressure from the outside. The other Nuristani are in the same position. The Kalasha people of Waigal Valley, for example, have been under pressure from the Safi since the beginning of this century, and all Nuristanis have come under increasing pressure in recent years by Gujurs. Today the Gujurs even graze their goats on Paruni pastures.

Now let's look at the data. In the following section the information is arranged according to its source: from an *informant*, by direct *observation*, or from our *reflections*.

82 *Keshtagrom, Nechingal Valley, early August, 1964.* Interior of the storeroom under the open gallery of Amir Mohammad's house in the lower part of the village. A food safe is built onto the wall. To the right of the pillar is a clay bin for grain. Under the food safe a couple of old clay pots are seen with stone or wooden lids. Such pots were used for grape juice, when fermenting wine. The dried pumpkin is used for various purposes, e.g., for whey containing a piece of the rennet-producing abomasum. Behind the grain store is a basket made on a framework of twigs, using alternating bands of black and grey threads. The roof of the room is made of partly burned planks; the greater part of Keshtagrom was burnt down in 1929 during a fight with the Kamdeshi. —Photo: L.E.

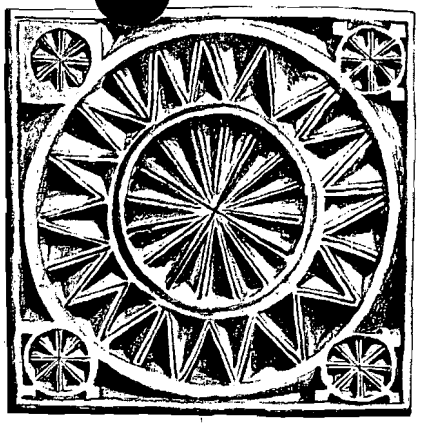


Fig. 43:
Meaning varies according to village and informant, but: *anasta kera*, 'he has given feasts to four villages'. *(bäri)* Din Mohammed, Nisheigrom, 6 September, 1969.)

Informant: (mainly from Shah Derwish of the *pepǰil-tatba* [*tatba* = descent group] May, 1954).

In this particular four-year period Shah Derwish belonged to the *eranik-pel'ä* herding group. In Spring four men, *ustök-pel'ä,* hold a meeting with the stock owners of the village. At this meeting the mountain pastures are divided among four herding groups *(pel'ä).* This meeting takes place at a special time ('month') of the year called *bazal* (Motamedi, quoted in Edelberg 1972: 83). In Pronz the month is called *üz-bazal* which means 'the 12 days of bazal'. This period occurs in mid-May.

In 1954 the four *ustök-pel'ä* of Pronz were:

Representative	from	*tatba*	for	*pel'ä*
Shahbiq		Pām'ān		uzugu/üčeneš
Gul Mohammad		Pšmi		simči
Hussein		Pemǰil		eranik
Kheir Mohammad		Puwur		yiweš

The four *ustök-pel'ä* provide four pieces of wood which represent the saeter-route to be followed by each *pel'ä.* There are 23 stock–owning households in Pronz (out of a total of 40) that send their herds and flocks to the mountain pastures each Spring (stock owners: *iriǰi,* Morgenstierne 1949: 79, *arǰi,* 'rich'). At the meeting each stock owner goes forward and with closed eyes takes one of the four pieces of wood. The piece he chooses determines which route will be followed by his livestock for the next four years. Then, in turn, all 23 stock owners make their choice. If one particular piece of wood is chosen too frequently, the *ustök-pel'ä* will make adjustments by referring owners to another *pel'ä.*

In 1954 it was decided that the herds and flocks from no more than 5 houses could follow the *uzugu* route, while livestock from 6 houses could follow each of the other routes.

Reflections: There are forty households in Pronz; the remaining 17 households probably supply shepherds for work at the mountain pastures. The families of these households are reckoned to be poor by villagers.

Fig. 44:
Urei, silver cup. Height: 19 cm. Diameter of bowl: 21 cm. Liquid capacity: 3 pints (1.7 litre).

Observations: In May the flocks and herds graze in the valley upon grasses and weeds between the fields. The fields are tilled and sown later in this month. During the last 10 days of May the livestock will gradually disappear from the valley and, as a consequence, milk becomes scarce in the village. The animals first move away from the fields round Pashki and then successively from the other village areas. On the 27th of May 1954 a shepherd boy was still herding 109 cows near Kushteki. Probably they left the village soon after.

On 28 May goathair carpets were spread on nearly all the rooftops in Pashki to take heaps of maize and millet and other cereals collected for the Mulla as a bi-annual payment or obligatory gift.

Reflections: This event probably marks both the end of winter *(iznara)* and early Spring *(ustäiš),* as well as the beginning of *sumbara,* the 'happy days' of Summer (Edelberg: 1972: 84).

After *üz-bazal* come seven days called *sät-wayi* (? this may mean 'seven brothers', see Morgenstierne 1949: 283). These days are probably regarded as the first part of the following month, *üngu-la* (see Edelberg 1972: 88). In any case, the livestock should, strictly speaking, start their summer migrations to the mountain pastures before the first of *üngu-la.* As one villager put it when asked on 29 May what date it was, "Today is the 3rd of *sät-wayi* because after four days the people will go to the mountain pastures."

Informant: The four *ustök-pel'ä* are in charge of the mountain pastures.

Reflections: Each of the four *ustök-pel'ä* probably guide the young herdsmen who may not know the route from one saeter to the next, or they may have the responsibility to see that the grazing is carried out in successive areas correctly and that the livestock keep together.

Inform having started on the summer migrations, those flocks and herds belonging to households of the same *pel'ä* will be taken by their herdsmen through the sequence of mountain pastures where the animals are to graze. Each *pel'ä* is named after the first mountain pasture they visit. All the mountain pastures have special names and the livestock stay a certain number of days on each pasture (see *pel'ä* chart, fig. 45).

Earlier information, (Edelberg's field notes, 29 July, 1948): On the last day of each of the seven months ending with the syllable *-la* people come up from the village to fetch dairy products (Lentz: 1939: 31) which are never left behind in the *šäl* nor carried on to the next.

Observation: On July 27th, 1948 the stock owners of Pashki came streaming down to the village and crossed the bridge in single file, heavily laden with dairy products.

Reflections: The 27th of July was probably the last day of *mun-lau.* (In 1948 we did not know anything about the calendar system of the Parun people so we could not ask. See Edelberg 1972: 83).

Informant: Towards the end of summer the *pel'ä* of *uzugu, simči,* and *eranik* arrive simultaneously at the same pasture: *übäazuk.* There they form a *či-pel'ä (či* = 3), and after 24 days, when moving on to the next pasture, they join the *pel'ä* of *yiweš* and they all form a *ču-pel'ä (čpu* = 4, Morgenstierne 1949: 227). This *ču-pel'ä* remains 10 days on the *tizi* pasture, and then 10 days on the *simči* pasture. On the very last day of *ki-la* they all come down to the village together.

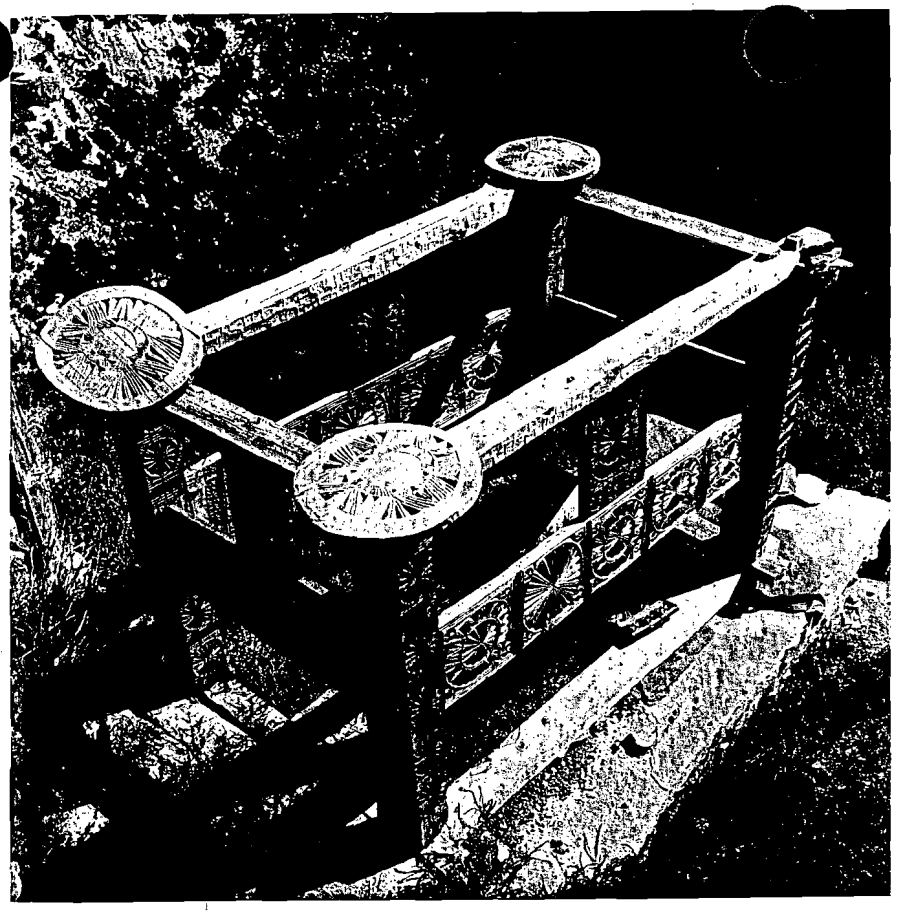
Observation: When we passed through Parun, travelling from Shtiwe down the valley in the last days of October 1953, both men and women were hard at work threshing. They said they must finish before the end of that 'month' *(kil-la),* because on the last day the livestock would arrive in the village at the end of their Summer migrations.

Reflections: It seems reasonable that all grain and straw must be removed from the threshing floors, otherwise the harvest would be eaten by the livestock.

Fifteen years after having collected information concerning the summer migrations, the number of days the *pel'ä* spend on each pasture, the calendar information, and the number of days reckoned for each summer month, we started to compare these two sets of information. The results are shown in the following calendar chart. The basic starting point was the information that all the livestock and all the herdsmen would arrive back in the village on the same day—the last day of *kil-la.* When one calculates back from that day it becomes clear that there is a certain accordance between the length of stay on each mountain pasture and the number of days in the different months—an agreement which seems too striking to be accidental. Occasionally there is a difference of one or, at the most, two days. This seems to be explained by assuming that some pastures may be so far from each other—perhaps separated by a pass—that it takes more than a single day to move from one to the other. There are, however, some exceptions:

Informant: (1). The length of time spent by *uzugu-pel'ä* on the *ürü* pasture occurs in two periods of 25 and 18 days. The same is true regarding the length of stay on *sežma* and *tkomiš.*

Reflection: It may be that these three mountain pastures are so large that the *pel'ä* move from one *šäl* to another within the same pasture, or the grazing is of such good quality that the *pel'ä* can stay there unusually long. So far, no problems. But if all the dairy products are to be carried down on the same day, communications and other arrangements need to be coordinated and the end of the second period spent at *ürü* is out of step. One explanation is that either the investigator or the informant is in error. We must remember that during that particular four-year period the informant (Shah Derwish)



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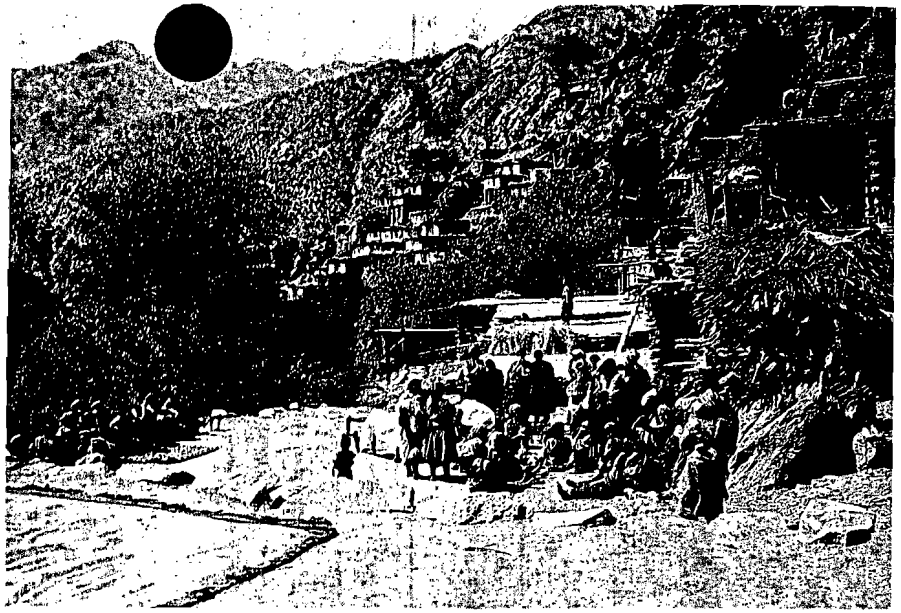
83 *Waramdesh, Waigal Village, Waigal Valley, October, 1953.* Grave of a warrior and feast-giver perched on the mountain slope between the upper and lower village. Nearly all surfaces on the structure have been used by the woodcarver to display symbols of rank representing the accomplishments and status of the deceased. Each rank symbol has a name and represents a particular achievement.—Photo: K.F.



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85

was not a member of the *uzugu*, but the *eranik-pel'ä*. Perhaps the second period spent on *ü*[illegible]*t* to have been recorded not as 18, but as 25 days, and the following period spent at *tišti* should then have been not 25, but 18 days (see chart, 'adjusted' column). If this is true, the first exception is explained. (2). The total number of days spent at the summer grazing areas is shown below in the chart. If one counts back from the last day of *kil-la*, the *uzugu pel'ä* will have to start some days before the other *pel'ä*. This is possible, though they will certainly not start before the beginning of *sät-wayi*. In certain other villages in Parun they do not distinguish between *sät-wayi* and the rest of *üngu-la* (Edelberg 1972: 88–89).

It should be added that Shah Derwish, in giving this account, at one point said that the first mountain pasture visited by the *uzugu-pel'ä* was called *üčeneš*. Finally, it seems that there is little doubt that *übäazuk* and *äbäisuk* refer to the same pasture.

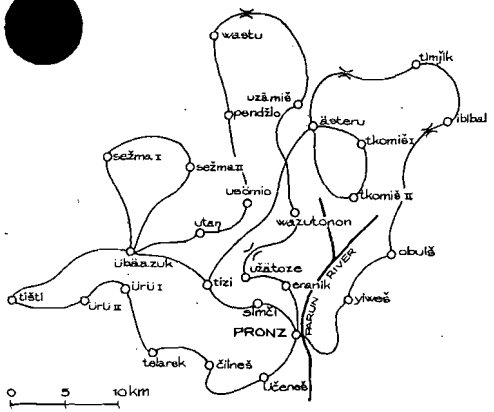
Having come this far we venture to offer the following map of summer migrations for the four *pel'ä*. It is intended as a working hypothesis for future investigators (see following page).

Informant: During the Summer the *uzugu-pel'ä* moves in the direction of Ktiwi, the *simči-pel'ä* moves in the direction of Ptsigal, the *eranik-pel'ä* (which at one point in the conversation was called *tešpra-pel'ä)* moves towards the upper Pezgal or the Kamah Pass, and finally the *yiweš-pel'ä* (which was also referred to as *komik-pel'ä)* moves to Komik on the other side of the river and from there towards Tiwak and Ptsigrom.

The names of the mountain pastures given here should not be taken too rigidly. Place names in the Prasun language are a special problem. For example, on the maps of the Deutsche Hindukusch Expedition (D.i.H. 1937), the village beyond Pashki is called Tusum, but *tu-Zum* is the locative case for 'Zumu'. A certain rock which stands in the river bed near Pashki was pointed out to us and called Man-t-iṣ, but this is the locative case for Maniṣ (Buddruss, cited in Edelberg 1972: 36).

84 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, 26 September, 1953.* Funeral ceremony on a roof-top. On the first day of the walnut harvest a young landowner fell down from a tree and broke his back. At noon the malik of his part of the village sewed his body in a white sheet. The picture shows how the dead are placed on a bed covered with another sheet. The women are crowding around his body. The two women standing in the centre of the picture are (left) a sister of the deceased, and (right) his widow. For an hour or more the sister has sung her brother's praise with a loud voice. The men stay near the roof-edge during this part of the funeral.
Early next morning the sister, lamenting alone, went across the river to the cemetery of her lineage. Shortly afterwards the Mulla, followed by (H)aji Mohammad, as the most distinguished elder, and some twenty other landowners according to rank and prestige, went along the irrigation channel to the bridge east of the village and across it to the cemetery. At noon meat was cooked in dozens of pots for the funeral feast.–Photo: L.E.

85 *Chimi (Akun), Waigal Valley, 9 November, 1970.* The annual feast *attare dul (attər,* 'inside', 'interior' *–dāl,* 'feast') is given this year by Mirzaman. The picture shows the back part of Mirzaman's hearth room. At dusk–at 17.30–fire is made under six big clay pots arranged on tripods outside the house on the cliff. Eight women have pounded millet in two big mortars on the roof below Mirzaman's house. By 18.30 six goats have been killed, two outside the hearth-room, four on the rooftop below.
The feast is only for a part of Mirzaman's lineage; his 'inner' lineage.
The rest of Chimi is quiet and dark and unaffected by the feast, but around Mirzaman's house there is great activity and the atmosphere is extremely intense. Three men (right) clean intestines for sausages, using a tin dish inserted into a Nuristani tripod. A pine torch is fastened to the left side of the dish. The boy in the centre is warming his feet. The feast came to an end by 10 o'clock, and the women began cleaning up.–Photo: T.F.



PEL'Ä

uzugu		ADJUSTED		simči		eranik		yiweš	
učeneš	11	učeneš	10						
čilneš	11	čilneš	11	simči	14	eranik	14	yiweš	14
telarek	25	telarek	23	tizi	23	užätoze	11	obuliš	11
						wažutonon	11	ibibal	11
ürü I	26	ürü	25	äbäisuk	25	uzämiš	12	timjik	12
						wastu	12	ästeru	12
ürü II	18	ürü	25	sežma I	27	pendžlo	10	tkomiš I	27
						usömio	15		
tišti	25	tišti	15	sežma II	15	utarj	15	tkomiš II	15
übäazuk								ästeru	24
tizi									10
simči									10

CALENDAR

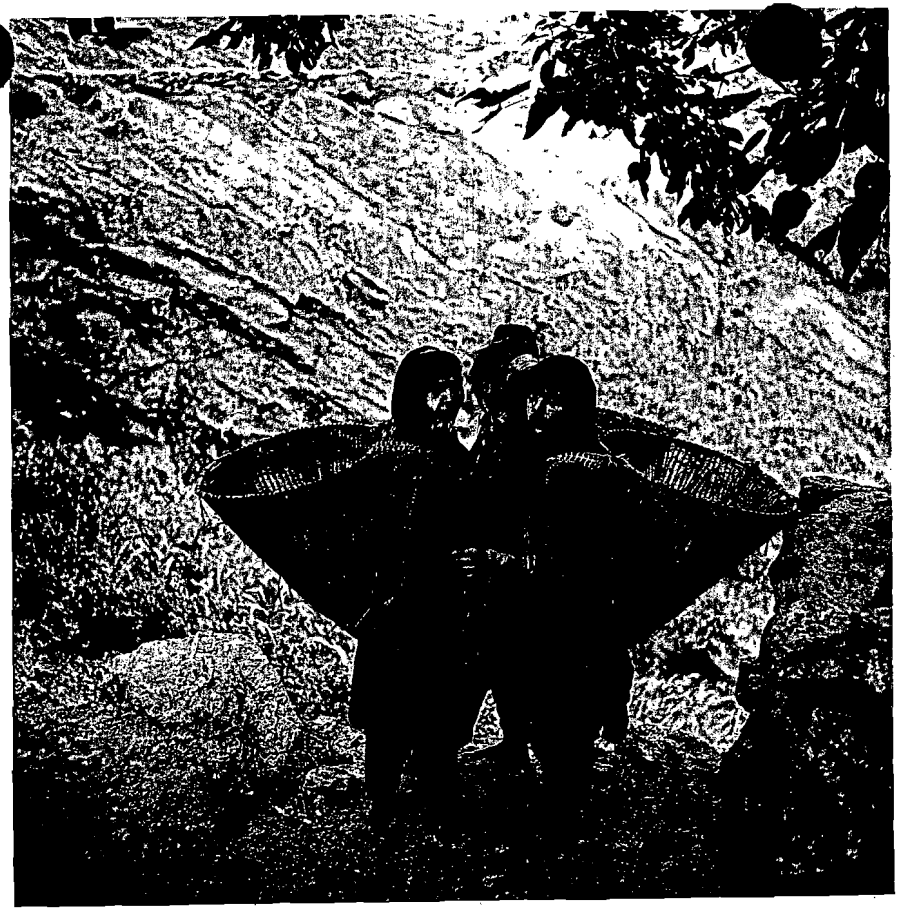
PRONZ				GREGORIAN	
FROM LENTZ 1936		FROM EDELBERG 1972			
ibl'u:	20	zü-üplu	20	JAN	31
w'šteu	20	üž-wasuk	12	FEB	28
		uz-ubuzuk	12		
wap'a	20	šäüž-wapa	23		
ú'p'um ištu:	20	užum-ustu	10	MAR	31
		üč-üša	5	equinox	
		disni-šutu	5		
drčš'	20	läe-dreš	10	APR	30
		dee-lis	10		
d:el'i:s	20	üz-šümüš	12		
basšl	20	üz-mumuk	12	MAY	31
		üz-bazal	12		
üng'u:	20	šät-wayi	7		
		üngu-la	14	JUNE	30
njljo:l'a:	24	niulö-la	23	solstice	
munl'a:	25	mui-la	25	JULY	31
ušk'll'ä:u	27	wiškl-la	27	AUG	31
šumi'll'ä:	18	šumi-la	18	SEPT	30
zubš-til'a:	24	župate-la	24	equinox	
kill'a:	20	ki-la	20	OCT	31
		zu-waspil	20	NOV	30
otütün'rk	60	zu-bazul	20		
		zu-gulya	20	DEC	31
	358		361	solstice	365

Fig. 45:

The map showing Summer transhumant livestock migrations to and from Pronz has been constructed from a combination of calendar and herding information. The place names on the map are those visited by the herding groups *(pel'ä)*. See chart below map. The timing of summer movements can be followed on the calendar (right).

The calendar of Pronz has been recorded by Lentz in 1935 and by Edelberg in 1954. The correlation with the Gregorian calendar has been made on the basis of actually being in the village on the 29th of May and being told that it was the 3rd of *sät-wayi*, according to the local calendar (this day is indicated by a black and white line). On the 21st of October, 1953 we were told that the local date was the 16th of *ki-la*. Thus we note that these two fixed points in the year do not exactly match, though this difference is less than the difference between the number of days in the Gregorian year (365) and the number of days recorded for the Paruni year.

In the two Pronz calendars the intercalary days have been shown round the time of the Gregorian New Year.

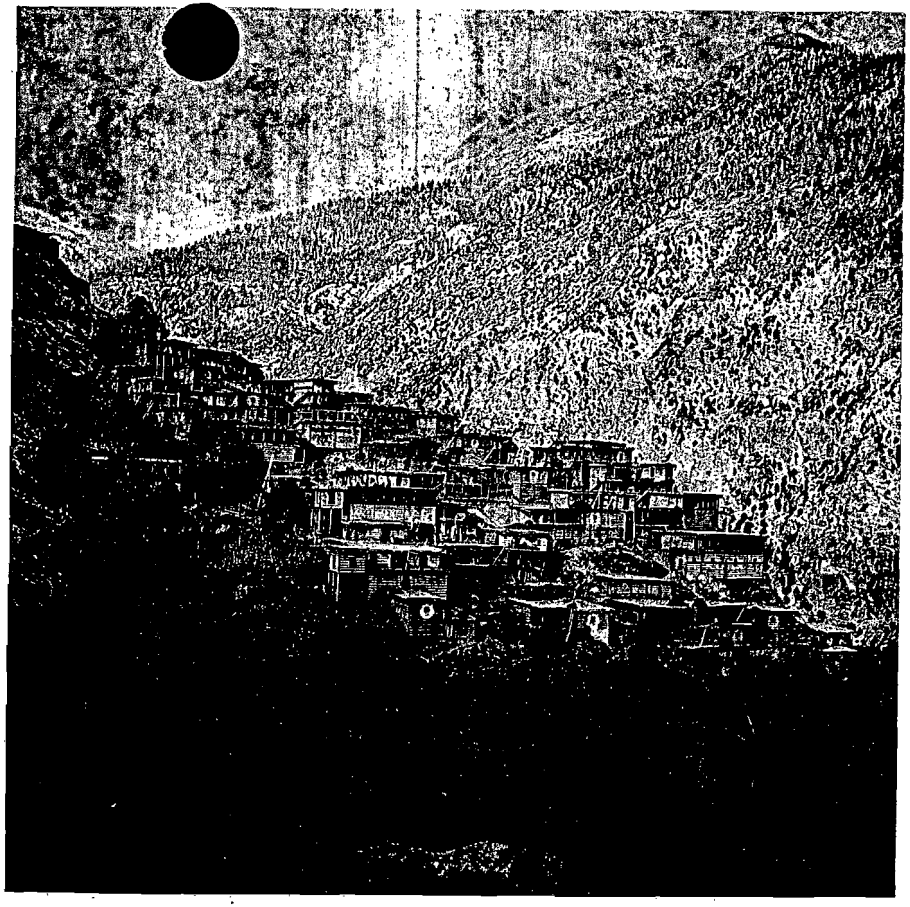


86

86 *Keshtagrom, Nechingal, early August, 1964.* Young girls going to work in the fields. From early summer until Autumn they spend most of their days helping their mothers with spading, weeding, irrigation, the collecting of firewood and hay, and finally, harvesting.–Photo: L.E.

87 *Waigal, Berimdesh, Waigal Valley, mid-July, 1970.* The enclosed verandah of the *kantar kōt* or 'holy house' of Berimdesh. The verandah here is in fact a gallery in front of two adjoining houses. A row of pillars support the roof-beams. Each pillar has a capital of four stylized ram's or goat's heads. The windows in the front wall can be closed with shutters furnished with carved handles. The entrance is behind the seated person, and the doors of the hearth rooms are in the wall to the right. In pre-Muslim times public decisions made in this house were considered binding.
The term *kantar* was first recorded as *kantaur*, said to be the name of a god. The informant was a Kafir woman in Teheran in the 1840's (Trumpp 1862).–Photo: U.T.

88 *Waigal, Berimdesh, Waigal Valley, mid-July, 1970.* The entrance to the *kantar kōt*. 'Entangled horns' decorate the door and the door panels. In the wall of the store room under the verandah, (the *berimganja)* a food-safe has been constructed. It is only accessible from inside the room. This *kantar kōt* was repaired by its owner between 1964 and 1970.–Photo: L.E.



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89 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, 27 August, 1969.* Said to be the oldest house in Zhönchigal, this is a fine example of a *kantar kōt* or 'holy house' from the pre-Muslim period. This picture shows the capital of one of the columns on the enclosed verandah. It is this enclosed verandah that is a characteristic feature of a *kantar kōt*, though enclosed verandahs are normal for a completed house in Bashgal.–Photo: S.J.

90 *Keshtagrom, Nechingal Valley, early August, 1964.* A view of the lower part of the village. The very large building partly hidden behind some trees on the left is the mosque. To the right of the mosque and nearly at the same level four completed houses with wooden galleries can be seen. The first–slightly higher than the mosque–is a double house (see pictures 2 and 3). The next–slightly below the mosque –is a 'triple-house' belonging to Amir Mohammad (see picture 82) with a special corner room on high poles, (see picture 110). This addition, in this form, is a recent innovation in Nuristan, dating from about 1960, and will probably become more and more common in Lower Bashgal in future. It is used for receiving guests. The completed house to the extreme right is atypical in that it consists of eight, rather than nine bays. It belongs to the brothers Abdul Qadir and Abdul Mahmad.
The uncompleted complex of houses just to the right of centre belongs to the family of Abdullah Wakil, who was born to a craftsman's family the year after the conquest of Nuristan and for a period of four years (between 1954–64) served as a member of the National Congress, representing the Bashgal Valley. He died in 1971. Under the *āmā* is the kitchen, and to the left of that, the open room for weaving. Under that again is the blacksmith's workshop (see picture 43).–Photo: L.E.

It may be that *tišti* is the mountain range East of Ptsigal, shown on Afghan maps as (D[illegible]este (wat). And it would not be surprising if *tkomiš* turns out to have something to do with Komik on the East side of the Parun River.

When churning butter, the shepherds from Pronz sometimes sing the following song, keeping time with rhythm of the churning:

1. sažmā sawate upožuŋaw'ɛi loul'a:ri č'ir'ančop'i: upož'uŋaw'ɛi
2. bi^{u}bž'i saz'ăwat'è upožuŋaw'ɛi etc.
3. tišt'i saz'ăwat'è upožuŋaw'ɛi etc.
4. wuz'ul saz'ăwat'è etc.
5. 'übäc'uk (or: opošuk) sazăwatè etc.
6. tiz'i sa'zăwat'è etc.
7. didži (?) saz'ăwat'è etc.
8. telarex saz'ăwat'è etc.
9. ir'i saz'ăwat'è etc.
10. ɔzm'io saz'ăwat'è etc.

(Edelberg 1972: 59. Tape recording: Alvad, List I, Pronz, No. 2. See p. 145).

The first word in each line refers to a mountain pasture (which is described as a good place where the roar of rushing water is heard). These places can probably be identified as follows:

1.	sažmă	=	sežma
2.	bi^{u}bzi	=	?
3.	tišti	=	tišti
4.	wuzul	=	?
5.	übäcuk	=	übäazuk, äbäisuk
6.	tizi	=	tizi
7.	didži	=	?
8.	telarex	=	tẹlarek
9.	iri	=	ürü
10.	əzmio	=	usömio

In the song the name of each pasture is followed by the syllable *sa*, which joins the next word as a prefix. On p. 17 we gave a short description of the complicated Paruni linguistic system relating to locality and direction. According to Georg Buddruss (personal communication) *sa-* might here indicate that the pastures mentioned are located West of the Parun Valley, and this agrees with the information given by Shah Derwish. Apparently no special locality for the *yïweš-pel'ä* route–East of the valley (in the *wa*-direction)–is mentioned in the song.

As seen from the following table, the notes concerning the seven '*-la-* months' in the different villages in Parun deal mainly with two aspects of life:

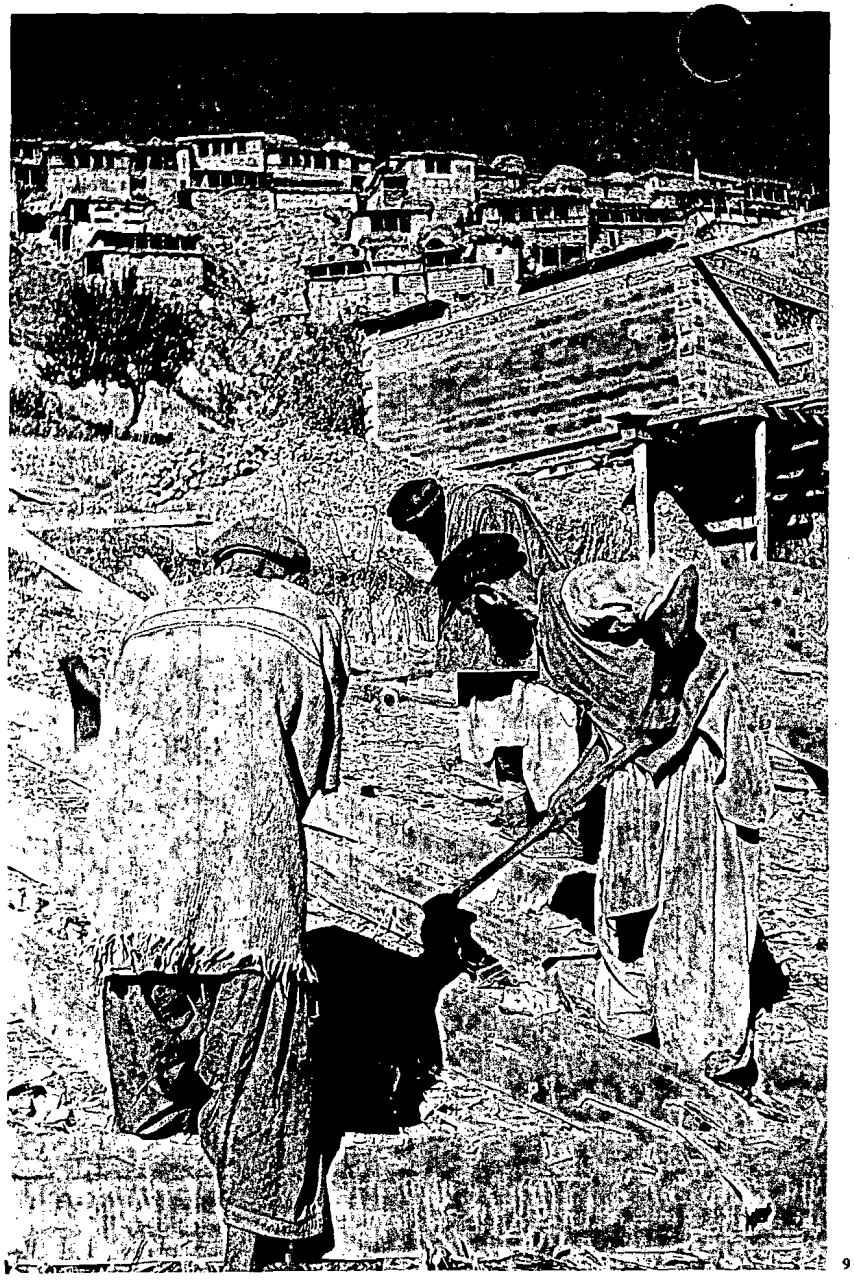
"MONTH"		Activities in the Valley	Activities in the Mountains
üla üngula usi etc.	I	Pashki: They sow, and irrigate 2 or 3 times Shtiwe: The goats are owner-marked by notching the ears.	Dewa: The flocks are in the Tešatawod for 20 days.
nila nülöla etc.	II	Pashki: They irrigate and cut the wild bushes	Dewa: The flocks are in the mountain pastures of Tepeš for 20 days
munlau muila munžla etc.	III	Kushteki: The meadows are cut for hay	Dewa: The flocks are in the mountain pastures of Agok for 26 days
ütülau wiškila etc.	IV	Pashki: The people cut hay on the meadows and they cut the bushes in the bottom of the valley for the winter	Dewa: The people bring bushes from the mountains for fuel* Shtiwe: A thorny plant* is cut for fodder
sümilau sumila	V	Pashki: Millet and barley are harvested	Pronz: On the last day the sheep are sheared. The owner gets the wool. Shtiwe: "sumi" means wool. They cut the wool.
zapatölau župatela etc.	VI	Pashki: Maize is harvested. All harvest is finished	Dewa: The flocks come to Tetot Valley
killau kila	VII	Shtiwe: Corn harvest Pronz: They have to finish the threshing	

*Astragalus, Acantholimon, and Cousinia

These activities are not coordinated throughout all the six villages. Shtiwe, the uppermost village, seems to be late with certain activities. They do not harvest until *kyilla*, and do not bring the flocks and herds down to the village on the last day of that month, but rather wait 10 or 20 days before doing so.

A fixed number of days is never mentioned in connection with arable activities in the valley, but only regarding pastoral activities. This is because herding activities are governed by strict rules, while arable activities are, on the whole, left to the judgement of individual landowners.

As mentioned earlier, on the last day of a '*-la*' month many people go together to the saeter in question to fetch dairy products. This seems a good idea; these important foods are better protected in this way, and several people are needed to bring them down if the job is to be done quickly. But several



91 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, mid-October, 1953.* Carpenters adzing timber for house building. The walls of the house behind the carpenters are finished. The alternate layers of masonry have all been smeared with clay except for the top level. A roofed verandah is planned, as can be seen from the projecting roof-beams.
The nearest carpenter wears a cloak made in Parun. The pattern just visible between his shoulders displays the rank symbols of the original owner. Carpenters have no rank.—Photo: L.E.

92

questions come to mind: Why, for example, do they bring down the dairy products from *all* fo[illegible]ers on the same day? Why does each *pel'ā* not follow its own time schedule? Furthermore, why do they not regularly return in Autumn to the same saeters which they visited in Spring? The pastures should have recovered during summer. Is it because the grazing has been consumed by the herds of neighbouring peoples? Are all dairy products fetched down to the village on a single day because there is a lot of other work in the valley requiring cooperative activity? Or is this practice a religious 'survival' from old, or perhaps even ancient times?

From time to time we have wondered if perhaps the whole calendar-*pel'ā* system originated in a time when the saeters in the mountains nearest the Parun Valley were sufficient for the summer grazing of all the livestock of the valley, and that these mountain pastures were not under pressure from neighbouring peoples, so that the Paruni could exploit them for their own exclusive use. Now it seems that the summer livestock migrations take the villagers a considerable distance from the valley. One could say that conditions seem to resemble those of the fishing industry in the North Sea, where different nations are continually fishing from each other. It would be better for the future of the industry if they all agreed to limit these activities. Properly arranged, the amount of fish caught would be the same. In Nuristan, in a vain attempt to gain more grazing, the stock owners move their animals farther and farther from home each summer.

This view agrees with a hypothesis put forward by Georg Buddruss: that what was originally a very restricted system of location and direction has subsequently been widened to include a larger section of the Hindu Kush than the original 'world' of the Paruni, which was just the Parun Valley and the mountains in its immediate vicinity (personal communication).

To find the answers to these questions and to investigate the actual energy production of the mountain pastures in order to compare it with the animal production of milk, meat, wool, and hair, and also to discover if there is a human and/or animal over-population in this part of the Hindu Kush, we would propose a team composed of a linguist (the problems cannot be solved through the medium of Pakhtu or Dari), an ethnologist, a botanist (which species are eaten, and which are used for fuel?), and an ecologist or human biologist (the production activities and the products gained should be converted into units of energy, kcal or kJoule).

Such studies should be carried out without delay. Only by means of such investigations will it be possible to determine if the system, as we see it now, is functional or whether it is a survival of an old tradition. More importantly, such studies are urgently needed because the forests and mountain pastures of the Hindu Kush represent a national resource that should not be neglected.

92 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, September, 1960.* The women of Nuristan use their baskets to carry firewood from the mountains to the village, to carry manure from the stables to the fields, to carry harvested grain from the fields to home and, as here, to carry small children everywhere.—Photo: S.J.

The validity of the Nuristani claim to the ownership of grazing grounds in and above the forest zone has in this century been contested by certain non-Nuristani peoples. We have already mentioned how the Nuristani have to share the oak forests round the mouth of the Waigal Valley with the Safi population of the lower Pech Valley. Equally, the Nuristanis in the valleys running into the Kunar Valley–Kumurigil, Dungul, etc.–have to share their grazing lands with the nomadic Mushwanis. We remember a rather impressive meeting with a Mushwani man in the forest below the village of Dungul one day in July 1949. When catching sight of us, he instantly jumped behind a tree (knowing that a bullet could not penetrate through it), and struck up a conversation with us from this secure position, not leaving the safety of the tree until he discovered that we were not genuine Nuristanis.

But it is the Gujurs who apply the greatest pressure on the grazing grounds. The Gujurs are nomadic herders who speak a lowland Indian dialect. Their religion is Islam. Gujurs in this area were first mentioned by Robertson (1896: 297): "The Kafirs were extremely discontented with the Mehtar of Chitral. The cause of the quarrel was the grazing grounds about Narsut [Satrgrom on our map, opp. p. 21]. The Kam claimed both banks of the Kunar river at the place mentioned, while the Chitralis wished to restrict them to the right bank only . . . The Mehtar re-affirmed his intention of introducing Gujars into the Narsut district, while the Kafirs roundly swore that they would murder all such intruders."

In 1949 Gujurs could be found on the mountain pastures of Ülaisum on the Dungul side.

The Gujurs dwell in huts made of branches, and their animals are milked by women as well as by men. Their women use a rotating churn-stick, *'mendanu'* (Motamedi 1956: 22) and a metal pot when making butter. They clarify the butter into ghee and make no cheese.

In 1949 the Kshto of Keshtagrom, who are of the same origin as the people of Dungul, said that if the Afghan Government would only give permission, the Gujurs would be blown out of Nuristan tomorrow (see Edelberg 1964: 17–18).

In 1953 Gujurs rented several *šāls* in the Dungul Valley–*šals* which stood unused by their Nuristani owners. But independent Gujurs living in branch-shelters were encountered frequently as far West as the Agok Valley. Thesiger (1957: 462) reported Gujurs in Western Nuristan: "Next day [end of July, 1956] we travelled up the Wanasgul. We passed through woods of oak, willow and various kinds of thorn trees, and then through thickets of birch and scattered junipers. The valley bottom was damp and very green. We were accompanied by four Goujars, on their way back to Kantiwar [Kantiwo/Ktiwi], who were carrying very heavy loads of flour. They had come down to Puchal [Pushol] a few days before to get their corn ground at the mill. These Goujars, who looked very Indian beside the Nuristanis, have a bad reputation and are universally unpopular in this country. They spend the summer in the mountains and winter in the valley near Laghman." Laghman is South of Western Nuristan; the Alingar River flows through this landscape. We found their camps in the lower Alingar in the winter of 1960–61.

Before 1964 Gujurs had reached the central part of Nuristan. Some of them came from distant regions such as Swat, and found their way into Nuristan through Lutkuh in upper Chitral. The Minjani tried to stop them and placed guards at the passes leading from Raingal, Kulum, Ktiwi, and Parun to prevent the Gujurs from going into their valley (Snoy 1965: 119–121).

In Ktiwi the local population is said to have charged the Gujurs rent for allowing them to graze their flocks and herds in the upper part of that valley (Fischer 1970: 49). In 1969 people in Berimdesh,

Waigal informed us that Gujurs were allowed to graze their animals in Agok for two or thr[illegible]ths. "For each 100 animals they graze there, we take 2 or 3 as rent for the pasture."

As will be understood, the relationship between Nuristani and Gujur has not been entirely hostile. As early as 1948 we met many Gujurs who had been employed as shepherds by the Kam and the Kshto, and intermarriage took place. In 1964 in Keshtagrom we cured a little boy of an infection and some Kshto people remarked, "You don't need to trouble yourself about this boy. He is not one of us." His mother was a Gujur.

In recent years things seem to have changed. The Kam, anxious because their Southern pasturelands were not being used and were therefore liable to be occupied by Gujurs, in an unusual step "cemented a Nuristani alliance against the Gujars and Bandawals by opening their alpine pastureland to the Kshto and offering Mumdesh [see map] as a pan-tribal area, to be settled jointly by the Kom [Kam], Kshto, Mumo, and Kate tribes. In the summer of 1974 Mumdesh was abuilding, the spirit of unity had overridden the Kom factionalism, and a confidence in the security of their southern pastures had sparked a resurgence of herding operations, with many more men working in the alpine pastures than in the past several years" (Strand 1975: 132–134).

In Swat, Pakistan, the Kohistanis have been considered by Barth as not making full use of the mountain pastures. Thus an ecological niche is left partly vacant–and available to the nomadic Gujurs (Barth 1956: 1087). The Kamdesh example seems to support Barth's hypothesis. For Nuristan as a whole, however, it would be an error to say that the sedentary population does not make full use (and more) of their grazing lands. The Gujur question, therefore, must be taken seriously. It is linked with the increasing deforestation of Nuristan.

VI. EXCHANGE

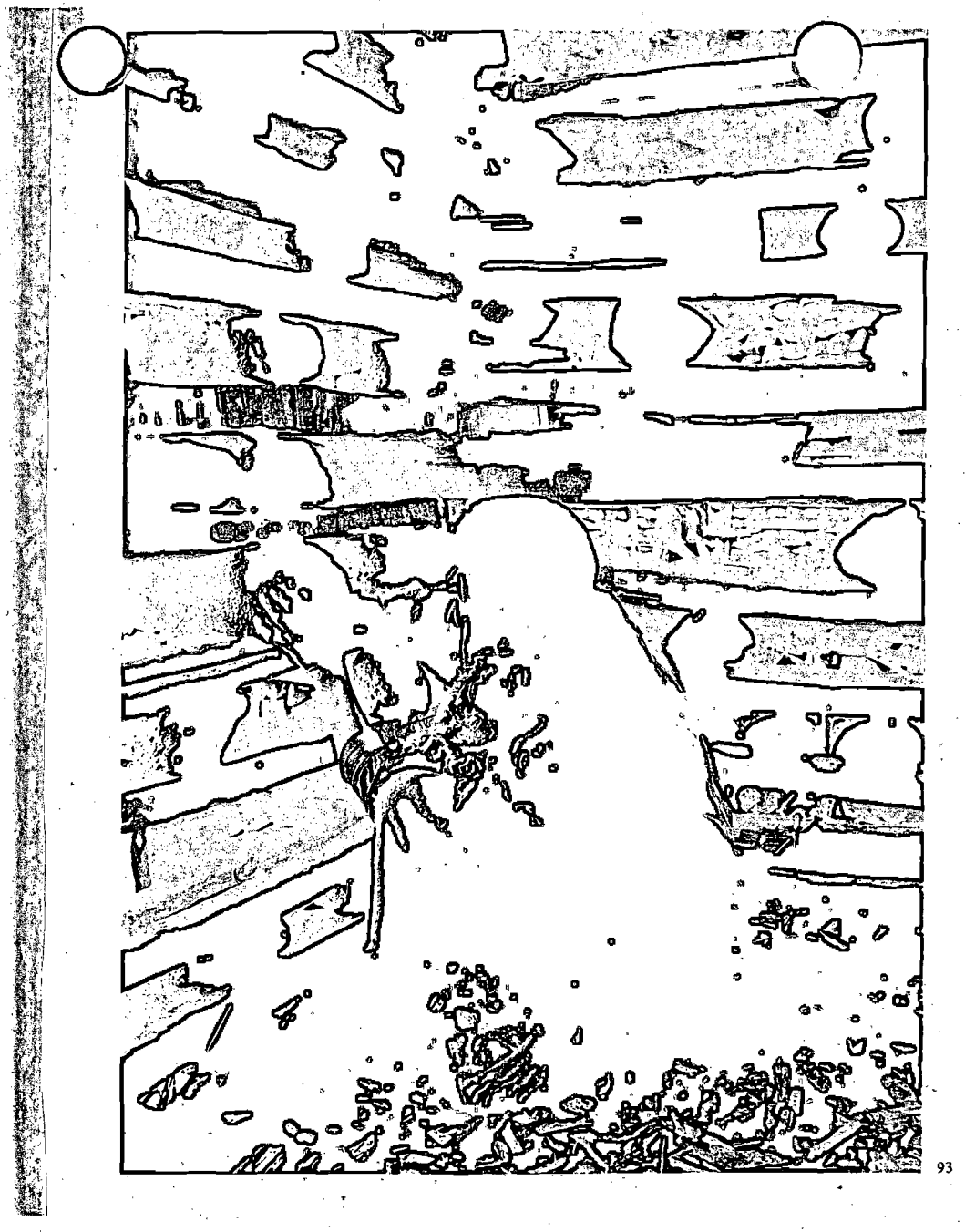
It is perhaps useful to distinguish between what one might call 'social exchanges' of goods and services and 'economic exchanges' of such goods and services. The two categories are kept separate by the motives of the participants. In the 'social exchange' the intent of the individual is to satisfy social obligations; in the 'economic exchange' the intent of the individual is to make a material profit. Nearly all exchanges between Nuristanis are social in character; that is, no immediate return is expected, profit is not the motive, and currency plays no part in the transaction.

There are no markets in Nuristan, either for the distribution of locally made goods or for the sale of imported goods. Except for the *bāri* craftsmen class, families are self-sufficient in food, relying on their own herds and arable land to produce their needs. So the main characteristic of this economy is local production for local consumption. But on various occasions at different times of the year considerable quantities of both food and goods change hands. These exchanges are usually between individuals or families, but may sometimes be on a larger scale, involving hundreds of people.

In most, but by no means all villages in Nuristan, there are one or more families of *bāri*. The *bāri* people constitute an hereditary class of craftsmen, distinguished from other Nuristani by descent, occupation, and certain social and political restrictions. In general, *bāri* are craftsmen who have learned their skills from their parents; girls are taught to weave by their mothers, boys learn blacksmithing or wood carving from their fathers. Thus the traditions of pot-making, silversmithing, leather working, wood carving, building, and other skills tend to stay in certain *bāri* families. This does not mean that most *bāri* craftsmen are so narrowly specialized that a potter only makes pots, and a woodcarver only makes bowls and mortars; most *bāri* have a range of practical skills and over a period of days or weeks will engage in a variety of tasks as needed.

There is another class of relatively unskilled craftsmen who occupy the lowest social position in Nuristani society. In Waigal Valley they are called *šewala*. Some *šewala* make baskets, others are leather workers. In some villages there may be several families of *šewala*, in others, none. Their products are considered inferior to those made by *bāri*.

Some *bāri* craftsmen, such as Din Muhammad of Kamdesh, gain a reputation for being particularly skillful in one line of work and their products may be so popular that they can afford to specialize. Din Muhammad became known throughout the length of the Bashgal Valley as a skillful wood sculptor and his bowls and mortars were in great demand (see fig. 51). More frequently, perhaps, a particular village gets a reputation for certain products because of the craftsmen who reside there. This is the



93 *Machwa, Ashkun area, December, 1960.* The basic construction of a Nuristani house is a timber framework with stone in-filling and, finally, a finishing clay plaster. This man is filling the spaces between the timbers with stones. The floor is littered with wooden chips from adzing timbers for the framework.—Photo: S.J.

94

ase, for example, in Waigal Valley where the village of Zhönchigal is regarded as the best pla[illegible]get a dagger or a tripod table made; the village of Ameshdesh is the place to get clay pots, and Nisheigrom produces the best wickerwork—items such as *brāpek*, a low wickerwork stand for bread; *kawa*, a large basket used by the women, and *čow*, a tray used for winnowing grain.

It is important to realize that the majority of Nuristanis are land-owners and engage in livestock herding and arable agriculture. They do not build houses, work metals, make pots, weave baskets, or produce leather goods. They form a class that is socially and economically quite separate from the *bāri* craftsmen, and yet this majority relies on the *bāri* to produce all the weapons, tools, household utensils, and other items of material culture that they need. The *bāri*, on the other hand, are first and foremost craftsmen and they do not normally own arable land, they have very little, if any livestock, and they do not have grazing rights. They survive economically hy producing goods that are needed and receiving for them payment in such products as butter, ghee, honey, cheese, and, sometimes, a cow or two, depending on the nature of the work.

The usual arrangement is for a man who wants a piece of work done to supply the raw materials and then come to an agreement about payment for the finished product with the craftsman concerned. The customer does not, however, supply the clay needed for the making of clay pots or the wood required for the making of bowls, mortars, and other containers. But for most things, the raw materials are provided by whoever wants the work done.

Not everyone gets the finished product directly from the craftsman who made it. It is a common practice for friends and kinsmen who live in different villages to exchange gifts when visiting each other. One informant in Waigal village described these exchanges as follows: "The people of Parun have more cows than goats. They make bowls out of walnut and poplar wood. When they come here they bring these bowls to us as gifts. We make skin bags and clay pots. They don't make such things. We give our things as gifts. In Parun they also make bowls of willow wood. They trade with friends. Perhaps they bring nothing; still they can take home what they need . . . the people of Nisheigrom bring two things here: *čow* [for winnowing grain] and *pačow* [also known as *brāpek* – the small stand for holding bread]. Both are woven of reeds. These are given for the wooden bowls of Parun. Here in Waigal we are nearer to Parun than Nisheigrom is, so they get their Paruni bowls from us. We also exchange things with the people of Tsukui, Weligal and Dungul. They speak the same language as we do. We don't know how we are related to those people, but they bring us wooden walking sticks and large shallow bowls" (Qader Jan, Berimdesh, 30 August, 1969. S.J. field notes).

In another village in the same valley an informant described the exchange and distribution system thus: "Here in Ameshdesh we make clay pots. We give these to people in all the other villages of the valley. In return we get cheese. Ameshdesh is known for making lots of good clay pots. The *bāri* make the pots here. The *bāŝpe* [tripod tables] are made in Zhönchigal; they also make some here in Ameshdesh,

94 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, August, 1966.* The builder has filled the spaces between the timbers with small flat stones, being careful to align this stonework with the squared timbers. The finishing clay coating has been applied to the stones only, leaving the timbers exposed and giving a striped effect to the building (see picture 1). Compare with pictures 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 91, 93, 98, 110, 142 and 144.—Photo: S.J.

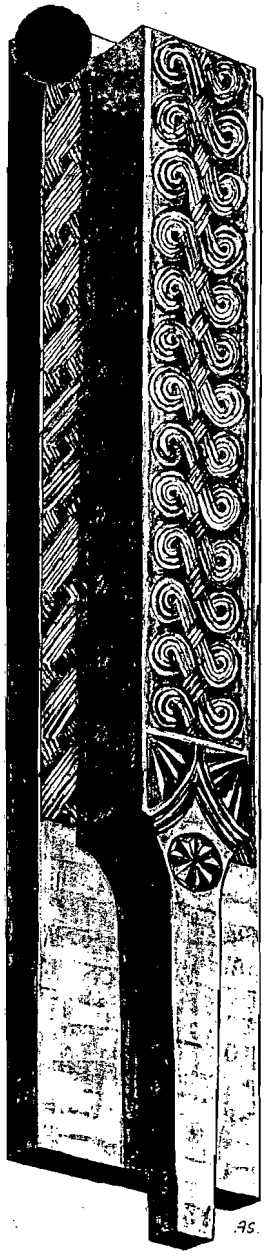
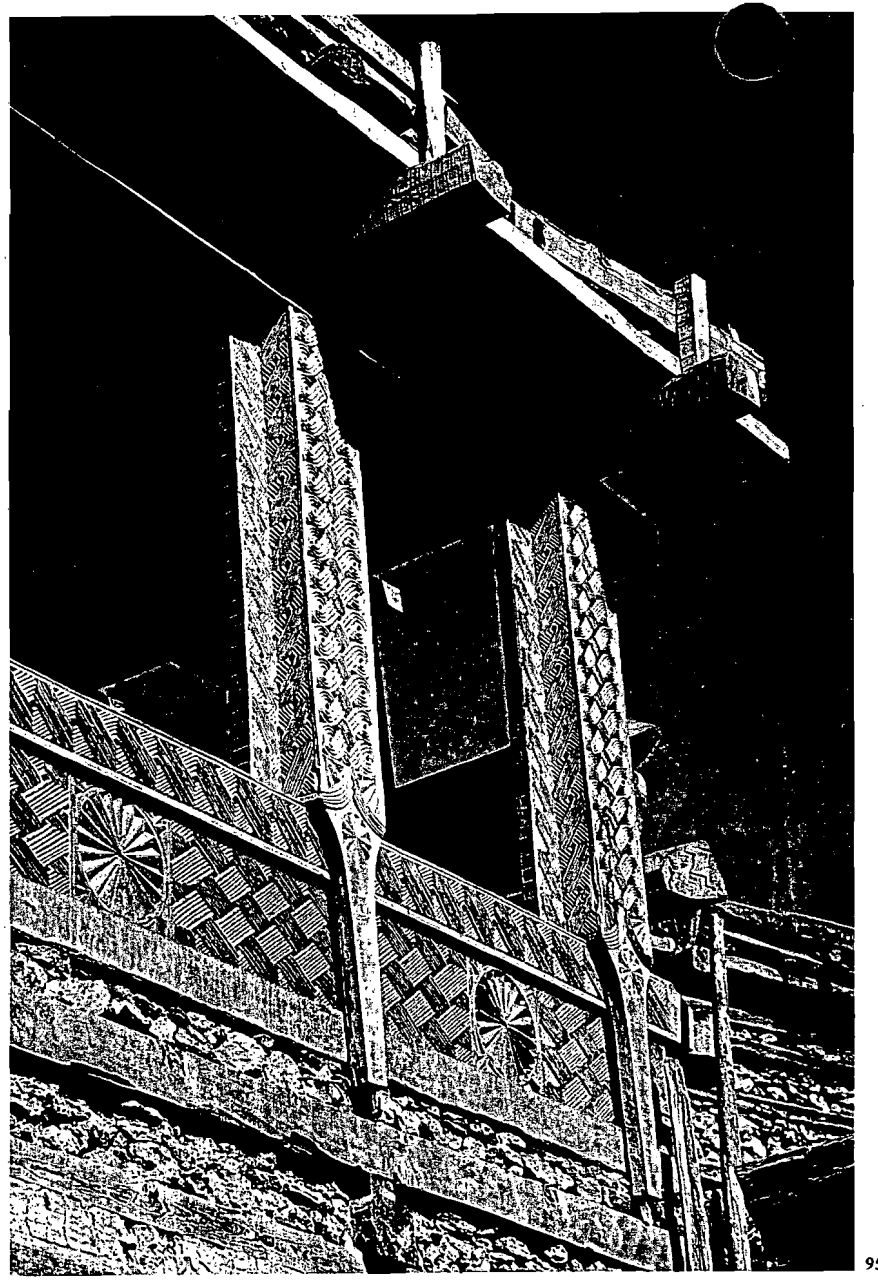


Fig. 47:
Drawing of a window-post showing how it is made to slot onto the sill.

95 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, September, 1960.* In recent years the tradition of carving symbols of rank on houses has, in many parts of Nuristan, been continued. But today, with few exceptions, such symbols have not been earned by the owner of the house and so they have become just decoration. The elaborate interwined designs shown here represent twisted goat horns and, in pre-Muslim times, meant that the owner of the house had sacrificed many goats. The round symbols with lines radiating from centre to edge represent public feasts given.—Photo: S. J.



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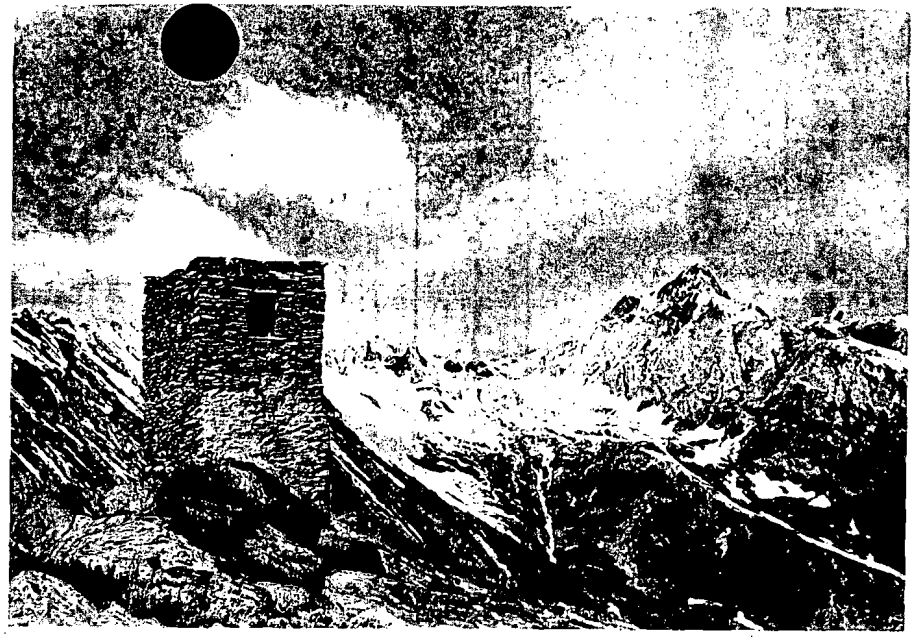

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...t they are not as good as the ones from Zhönchigal. In summer the *bāri* here make clay ... in winter they make *bāšpe*. But Zhönchigal is known for blacksmith work. The village of Waigal is known for wooden bowls. Nisheigrom is known for making *brāpek*. The Paruni people are famous for making big wooden bowls" (Haji Faqir, Ameshdesh, 1 September, 1969, S.J. field notes).

The people of some villages act as middlemen in the distribution of goods. "The people of Wama get wooden bowls from the Paruni and trade them with us here in Nishei and other Kalashum villages for leather, skin bags, and baskets. The people of Wama then go up to Parun and exchange those things for wooden bowls. When we go to see our relatives in another village we take something as a present; when we leave to return home, they give us something. It is not a business" (Ahmad Yusuf Nuristani, 5 September, 1969. S.J. field notes).

Thus far we have discussed a particular aspect of exchange and distribution in Nuristan—gift exchange. But the wooden bowls, the tripod tables and other things made by *bāri* are also recognized as having an economic value in Nuristan. That is, almost any villager can state the value of such objects in terms that are clearly 'economic'. In the 1960's a *katara* (dagger, see fig. 18) was equal in value to one cow. A true idea of the value of a *katara* is perhaps even better illustrated by the fact that a cow is worth 7—9 goats (more or less, depending upon the season and the cow), or that a three-room house costs 8—10 cows. The value of almost anything in Nuristan can be stated in terms of a certain number of goats, unless the item is worth less than one goat, in which case the value is given in cheeses.

But this should not give the impression that livestock, grain and cheeses, or any other foods for that matter, are bought and sold in Nuristan. What is given above are commonly recognized relative values. Inside Nuristan, between Nuristanis, food is not considered to be something that might be bought or sold. Food is either given away or lent to kinsmen and friends. "We lend ghee to people we know. Also cheese. Sometimes we exchange cheese for goats. Two seers of cheese equals one goat. Some people take honey to Parun and exchange it for goats or cows. They don't have honey in Parun because it is too cold for bees. Honey and ghee are exchanged in equal amounts" (Ghulam Nabi, Nisheigrom, 27 February, 1968. S.J. field notes).

In some parts of Nuristan in recent years, notably in Waigal Valley, the practice of occasionally taking surplus foods down the valley to sell to Afghans living on the borders of Nuristan has become common, though it is still on a very small scale and is normally used to purchase luxuries rather than necessities. The Nuristani products that are most in demand are walnuts, caraway seeds, ghee, and honey. Other Nuristani products sometimes sold to Afghans are cheese, wool, and goat hair. The goods most commonly purchased and carried back into Nuristan are cloth, sugar, tea, salt, and rice. If there has been a poor harvest then goods and livestock may be taken down to sell in order to purchase grain. These transactions occasionally lead to difficulties. Abdul Qader described the problem in these terms:

96 *Psanda kōt, Papruk, 22 June, 1948.* An old watch-tower on the mountain ridge, altitude 3,500 m. The peak on the horizon to the right is 4,962 metres high.—Photo: L.E.

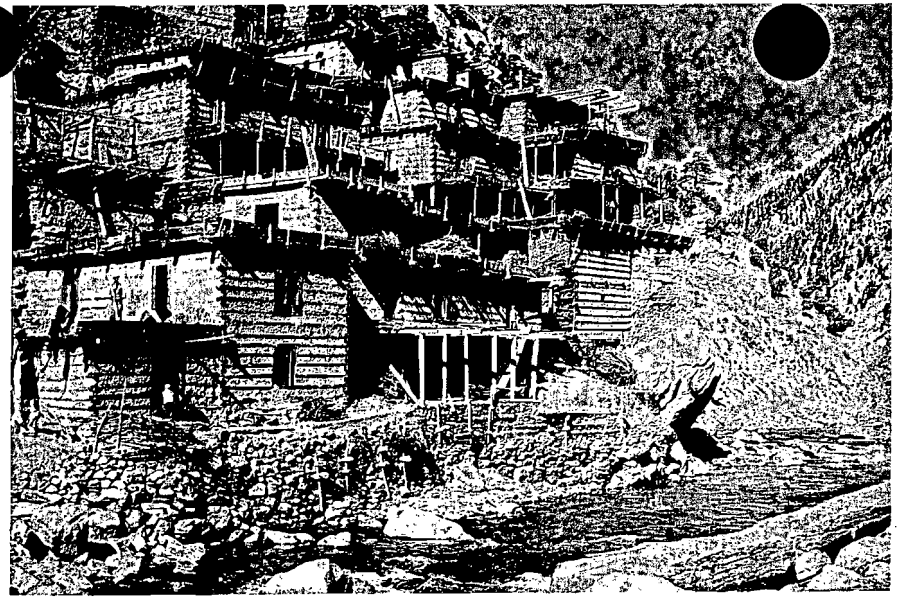
97 *Chimi (Akun), Waigal Valley, 8 November, 1970.* This type of tomb, found only near certain villages in Waigal Valley, usually contains the graves of 2 or 3 members of the same family. The main vertical and horizontal timbers, as well as the panels between, have been covered with carved rank symbols. The two large V-shaped symbols at either end represent the head and horns of goats.—Photo: T.F.

"Some people go to Ningalam and borrow money to buy grain. We need grain in Spring when the winter stores are finished and it is a long time until harvest. We borrow grain in Spring and the moneylenders come up here in Autumn and get goats and ghee to pay the debt. If I borrow 500 Afghanis worth of grain in Spring, they come in the Autumn and take 1,000 Afghanis . . . Many people here are in debt to the Afghan moneylenders of Ningalam. When we go to Ningalam with goods to sell, the shopkeepers there set the price. They know we have come all the way from our village carrying ghee, so they offer a low price. What are we to do? We have walked one or two days to get there. We have to take their price. There is no other market" (Berimdesh, 28 August, 1969. S.J. field notes).

The problems of trying to make ends meet by borrowing from the Safi Afghans of the lower Pech Valley are ably summed up by one informant who said, "We have no relations in Ningalam; no place to stay when we go there. The Safis live near the Hākim [sub-governor] in Manugi and they can see him every day. They take presents to him. We are far away. The Hākim is on their side. If we owe a Safi one chicken and don't pay on time, he goes to the Hākim and makes out a complaint. The Hākim sends soldiers up here and the man has to go down to the *Hokumat* [office of the sub-governor]. It is far, and when he gets there he has no place to stay. He can't stay there and argue the case because every day costs him money that he doesn't have. So he borrows money to pay the debt" (1 September, 1969. S.J. field notes).

The climate of Nuristan is such that arable agriculture and animal husbandry, as practised by the Nuristanis, normally provides a good return. In an average year most families are not only self-sufficient in food, but have a considerable surplus of grain, fruits, and dairy products. This is achieved by careful planning, hard work, and the cooperation of a wide range of kinfolk.

We have already pointed out that there are no markets in Nuristan and that very little food is sold or exchanged. At the same time there are strict limitations on the storing of foods. The summer surplus of milk is converted into butter, and then, because butter does not keep well, into ghee, which can be kept for some months. Or, the milk is made into cheese, which can also be kept for several months. But nevertheless there are serious problems regarding the long-term storage of foods in Nuristan. There are two things, then, that one can do with surplus foods: sell them, that is use them economically, or give them away, that is use them socially. In Nuristan surplus foods are used to achieve social ends, rather than economic ends. This is done either by informally lending or giving food to friends and kinsmen who are in need, knowing that they will reciprocate on a future occasion as they have done on past occasions, or through the large formal distributions of foods connected with marriage and feast-giving. There are two kinds of feasts given in Nuristan: those marking certain 'rites of passage' such as coming-of-age and marriage, to which kinsmen are invited, and feasts connected



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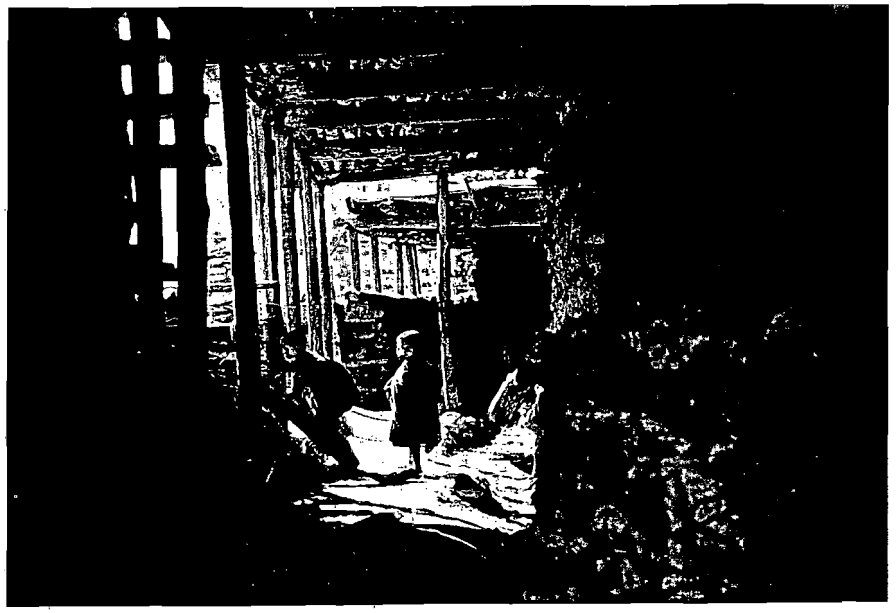

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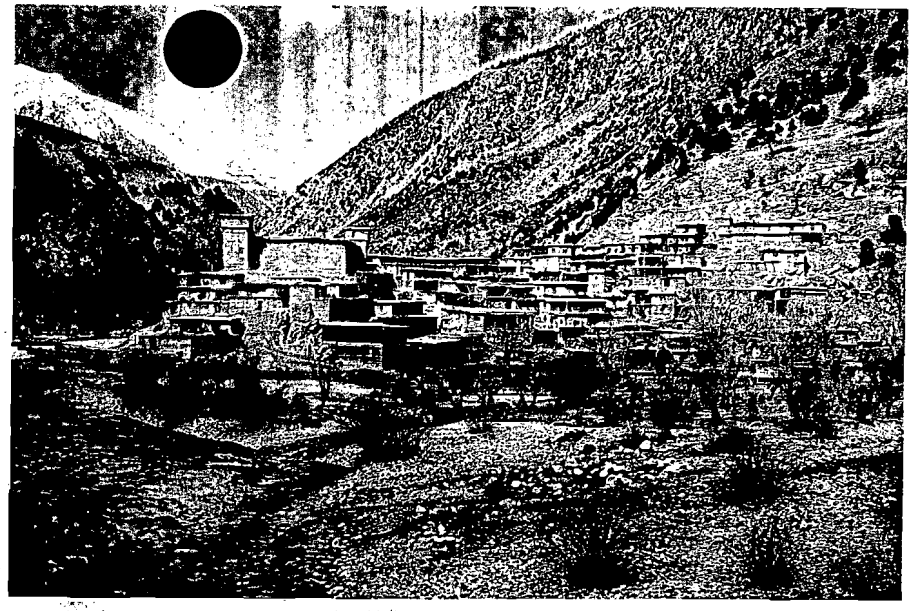
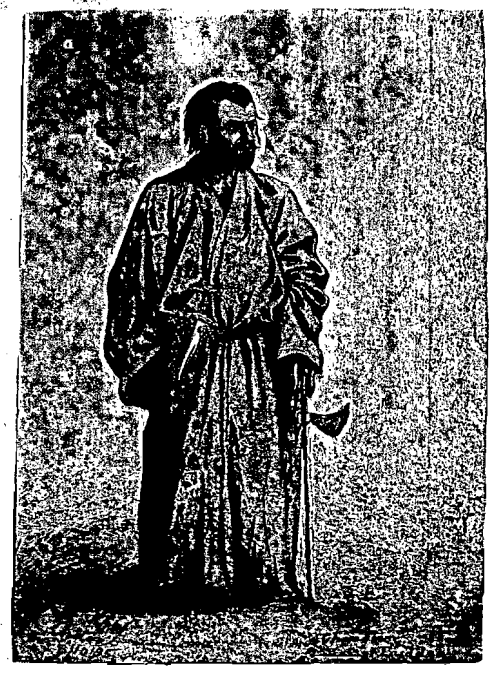
98 *Aftsai, Bashgal Valley, 31 October, 1970.* The village is built on the right bank of the river. By a system similar to the *pik'ā-nakur'ā* feature used in house construction (see pictures 16 and 45), the river bank is strengthened so that the lower part of the village will not be damaged by spring floods. The house at upper right awaits the construction of a roofed-over verandah.—Photo: T.F.

99 *Badamuk, Bashgal Valley, 2 November, 1970.*— According to Robertson's description of house-building in Bashgal (1896: 448), there were no enclosed storerooms under the verandahs in his time, though they are common today (see picture 2). In the upper Bashgal, houses matching Robertson's description are still found and many pathways in the village lead under the verandahs as here, where two girls are playing.—Photo: T.F.





100 *Bragamatal, Bashgal Valley, March, 1967.* As far as we know from the records this was one of the first Nuristani villages ever visited by Europeans. Col.W. S.A. Lockhart (later Sir William) led the 'Chitral Mission' here in 1885. Other members of the expedition were Capt. E.G. Barrow, Surgeon G.M.J. Giles, and Col. R.G. Woodthorpe. These British officers signed a covenant with the leading men of the village—a kind of one-sided defence pact.—Photo: S.J.

101 *Watercolour portrait by R.G. Woodthorpe of Chandlu*, son of Mara, both signatories of the covenant drawn up in Bragamatal in 1885. Chandlu holds a *waš'lik* (ceremonial axe), a symbol of rank. This portrait, never before published, is from the archives of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. Luddeh is a synonym for Bragamatal.

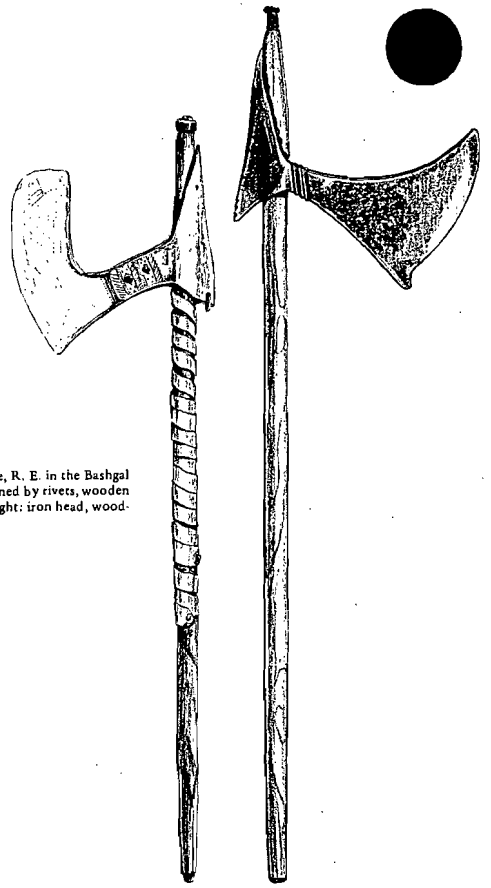


Fig. 48:
Two ceremonial axes obtained by Col. R. G. Woodthorpe, R. E. in the Bashgal Valley in September 1885. Left: two piece brass head joined by rivets, wooden shaft partly wrapped with brass strip. Length: 66 cm. Right: iron head, wooden shaft. Length: 74 cm. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

with death and prestige, to which the entire village is invited. Ultimately, all feasts concern the prestige of the host, but some feasts (not often given today) are non-obligatory and are given solely for the purpose of enhancing the reputation of the host, his family, and his lineage. Most feasts are socially required, and without them the occasion is not complete. Public opinion will demand that they be given, otherwise a fine is due and the prestige of the family concerned will suffer.

These feasts require very substantial quantities of foodstuffs. For example, marriage in Nuristan involves the giving of bridewealth by the man's family and the giving of dowry by the woman's family. The amounts of bridewealth and dowry exchanged vary from village to village and valley to valley, just as they vary according to the social and economic circumstances of the families involved. Normally the amounts given are privately arranged and agreed upon by the two families, but in some villages the

elders have d[redacted]pon an upper limit for bridewealth to discourage competition among the more wealthy families.

In Waigal Valley bridewealth *(malpreg)* is approximately 120 goats, but it varies from around 75 to more than 200. It is still a common practice for a family of high status to include a silver cup, which is usually considered to count as 30 goats in reckoning the total (see fig. 44). Bridewealth may be paid over a number of years between the engagement and the wedding; quite often a family will pay 10, 15, or 20 goats every year until the agreed-upon total has been reached. But all bridewealth must be paid before the marriage can take place.

Dowry *(bakawa)* is given over on the wedding day when the bride goes to her husband's house. Unlike bridewealth, dowry consists mainly of grain and cheeses, though sometimes flour, ghee, and walnuts may be given as well. In many villages it is also customary to give a box of clothing and jewellery in addition to the foodstuffs. In Waigal Valley a typical dowry is 500 kg. of wheat, 500 kg. of millet, from 10 to 20 large cheeses, and a box of clothing and jewellery 'worth one cow'. A very large dowry would consist of 700 kg. of wheat, 700 kg. of millet, 400 kg. of walnuts, 80 large cheeses, and a box worth two cows. In some communities the cheeses are omitted if the man and the woman are from the same village.

Apparently even 100 years ago it was not uncommon for one or two Afghan traders from Jalalabad or Minjan to walk into Nuristan carrying loads of cloth, needles, snuff boxes, mirrors, beads, and trinkets which they hoped to give in exchange for walnuts, honey, clarified butter, cheeses or other products. This kind of trade, in the general absence of shops in Nuristan, still goes on today (as early as 1948 there was a small shop in Keshtagrom and in 1960 there was one in Kamdesh, but even in 1970 there were still no shops anywhere in the Waigal, Pech, or Parun Valleys of Nuristan).

These itinerant traders seem to do well enough to continue coming back into Nuristan every summer, but they are, in some areas at least, running into increasing hostility. The problem is this: the majority of the people even today have never been outside Nuristan and, as Afghan currency plays no part in their daily lives, they are understandably vague about its value. The traders are considered to take advantage of this, especially if the man of the house is away, offering some cheap material and taking several times its value in return. In recent years these traders, having discovered that such things fetch high prices in Kabul, have taken away large quantities of Nuristani material culture; things such as wooden bowls, music instruments, weapons, and jewellery.

102 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, September, 1960.* Women harvesting millet. Using small knives the women cut each head of grain from the stalk separately and then drop the grain into their baskets.–Photo: S.J.

103 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, mid-October, 1953.* The carpenters have sketched a pattern with fine strokes on a large wooden plank probably intended for the sill at the front of the wooden gallery of the house in picture 91. For a similar sill in place, see picture 95. The carpenters are now carving what they have sketched. Planks like this have been measured to a length of 17 metres in a 'triple-house' with nine bays.–Photo: L.E.

104 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, September, 1960.* A basket full of millet is carried back to the village. Millet is the most important grain grown in Nuristan, although wheat is preferred and, in recent years, more and more maize is being planted. The people of Nuristan distinguish 32 different kinds of millet.–Photo: S.J.

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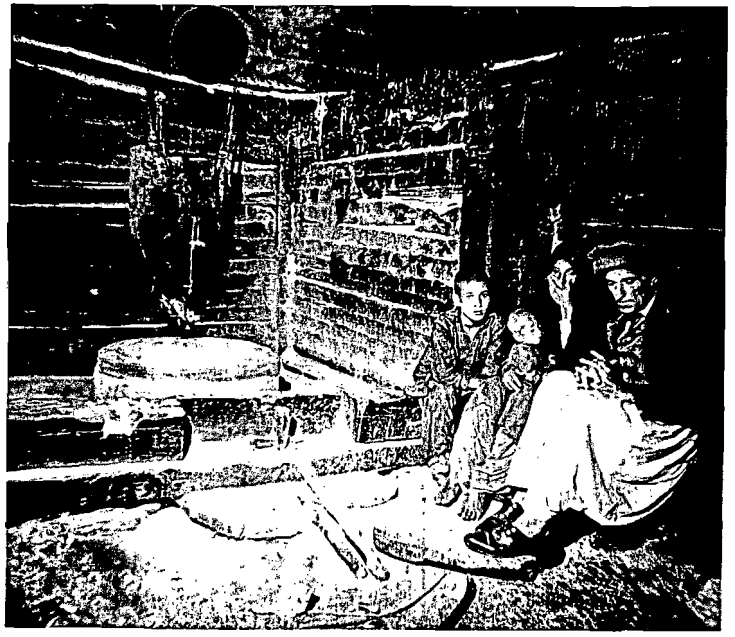

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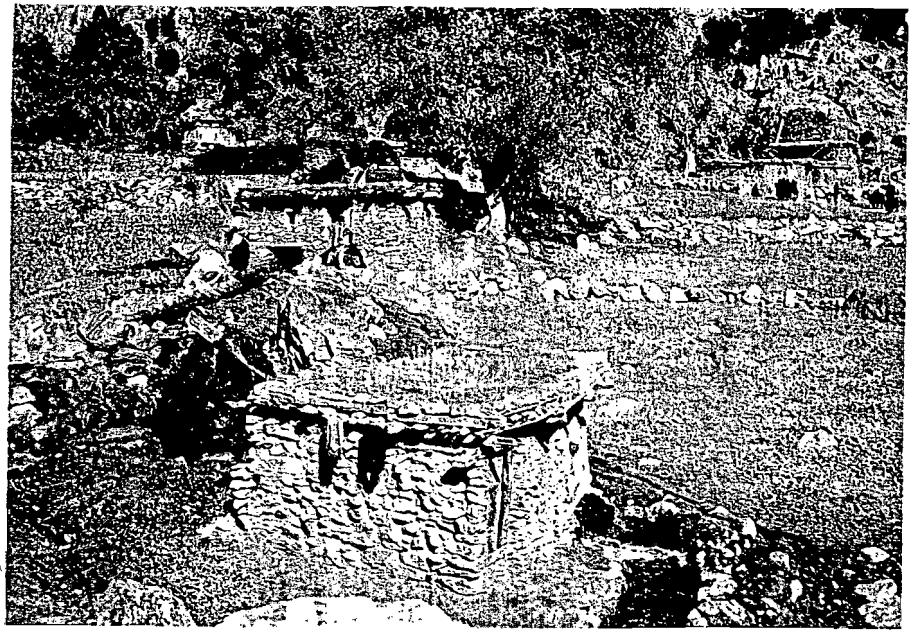

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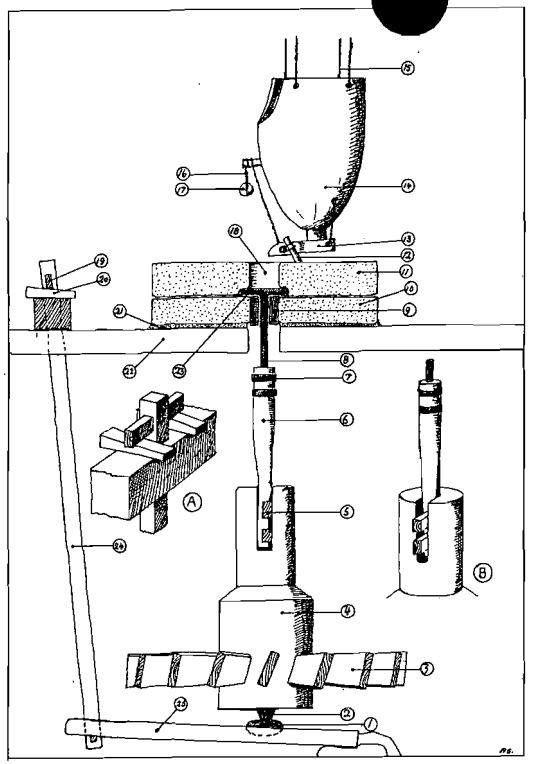
Fig. 49:
Drawing showing the mechanics of a Nuristani (horizontal) watermill, Wg: *awŕ'ən, wanjal*; Kt: *apš'ə̄*; Pr: *iši*.

No.	English	Kati	Prasun
1.	stone socket	akirə wāt	
2.	stone pivot	čuk wāt	ksir
3.	vanes	gōr	cewer
4.	crown	pārəy'el pālnirə	komur
5.	wedges		waka
6.	upright shaft		uzu'ro
7.	iron rings		iži
8.	stone spindle	šuruk	žiəmə
9.	wooden boss		
10.	bed stone	wiŕ woŕ	bi'dār
11.	runner	urel woŕ	lyirār
12.	'damsel'	nıən'e-ḍun	
13.	shoe	naṣ'ul	u'da
14.	hopper	dol, kunə	wižu
15.	ropes (in Parun: chain of rings made of willow)	čot	
16.	cord	naṣ'ul mə'nə̄	
17.	check weight (to check position of string (cord) held by friction)	ṭak-ḍun (?)	
18.	eye	woŕ-aš'i woŕ-caw'i	
19.	tentering yoke	wačpa-ḍun	
20.	wedges	kyul	
21.	layer of clay		
22.	floor	aštərə	
23.	rind		
24.	tentering rod	'u-kṣo-kaṭe da-štyü	panjminuk
25.	sprattle beam	guš-kunə	bi'tā-bitsenik-kundu



105 *Ameshdesh, Waigal Valley, September, 1969.* Before the grain can be put in the storerooms it must be thoroughly dry. Rain showers during harvest time add much work to an already busy season. All the grain must be taken in and then put out again when the rain is over. It must be taken inside again in the evening and put out once more the next morning. It is the task of the children and old folks to keep birds away from the drying grain. –Photo: S.J.

106 *Keshtagrom, Nechingal Valley, early July, 1970.* Sayid Ghulam, a carpenter of the village, in his horizontal water-mill near the banks of the Nechingal river below the village. The walls are built of adzed timbers with notched ends. Sayid Ghulam was the master-builder of the new mosque constructed in the lower part of Keshtagrom between 1953 and 1964 (see picture 48).–Photo: L.E.

107 *Badamuk, Bashgal Valley, 2 November, 1970.* On a tributary of the Bashgal river four horizontal water-mills are built below each other. To get a sufficient height of fall for every mill, the water channel is led almost horizontally along the top of a dam to the wooden chute immediately behind the mill.
The horizontal water-mills of Badamuk have stone walls; there are thirteen in all and they are ice-bound for two months each year.–Photo: T.F.

In an effort to prevent villagers from being cheated, the elders of some villages have drawn up rules designed to discourage such traders from doing business at all. In Nisheigrom the elders drew up a list of commodities and fixed the price that villagers were allowed to pay for each—prices so low that the traders could not make a profit. In Ameshdesh a rule was made that no one could buy anything from such traders without the prior permission of the elders.

One possible solution, considered by the elders of Waigal Village, was to set up a Nuristani-owned and operated shop in the village. The scheme fell through because no one was willing to work in the shop. As one informant said in disgust, "We are *not* shopkeepers."

108 *Keshtagrom, Nechingal Valley, 23 October, 1970.* A harvest of melons and pumpkins is brought to the village. These vegetables are usually grown at the edges of the terraced fields.—Photo: G.F.

109 *Aftsai, Bashgal Valley, 27 October, 1970.* Girls in school. They are instructed in the Pashtu-language for three hours every day before noon for three years. They bring along with them a wooden board, a bottle of limewater, a bamboo pen, a book, and a stool. If it rains—and during winter—they gather inside the mosque.—Photo: T.F.

110 *Keshtagrom, Nechingal Valley, 24 October, 1970.* The wedding guests have crowded onto the roof of Amir Mohammad's 'triple house' and on the roof of his new corner-room in the lower village. The roof was swept early in the morning.
The day before, the bride's father distributed meat. Today the bridegroom's father has given a cow to be butchered. Wedding feasts usually take place in Autumn, when plenty of food is available.
Everyone awaits the arrival of the bride and her dowry.—Photo: G.F.

111 *Keshtagrom, Nechingal Valley, 24 October, 1970.* The dowry is carried into the groom's father's house. In this case it is comprised of:
600 kg of wheat in skin bags, 36 kg of ghee in a skin bag, and in addition (not seen in the picture) 36 kg of cheese (20 cheeses in all), teapots, a metal suitcase, kelim-carpets, knotted carpets, and other goods, including one cow (see picture 112).—Photo: G.F.

112 *Keshtagrom, Nechingal Valley, 24 October, 1970.* At 3 p.m. the bride—dressed in bright colours—is guided to her future home. Walnuts are thrown down for the spectators to scramble for. Later bread, soup, and meat is served on the roof in front of the groom's house. The soup—heavy with fat and starched with wheat—is served from big bowls placed in the centre of hourglass-shaped stands of wickerwork with bread round the bowls. Celebrations go on in the house of Amir Mohammad till late at night.—Photo: G.F.

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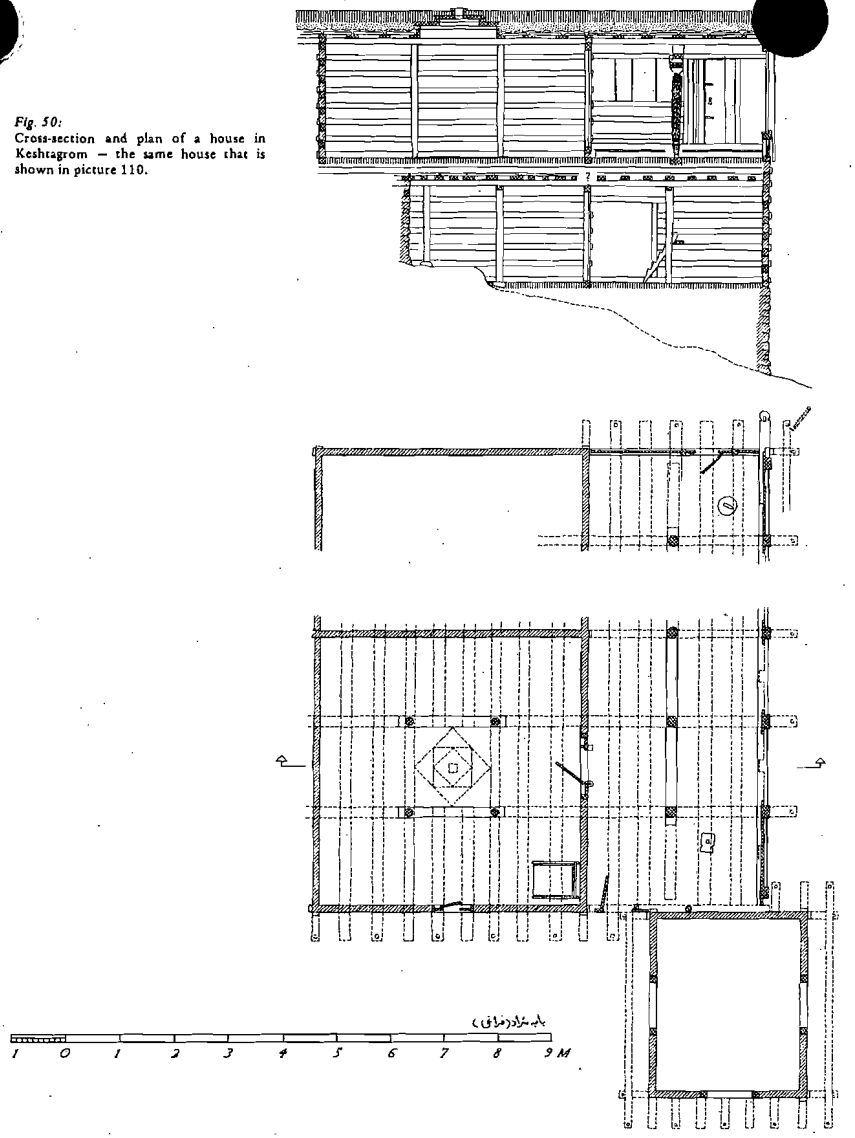
Fig. 50:
Cross-section and plan of a house in Keshtagrom – the same house that is shown in picture 110.



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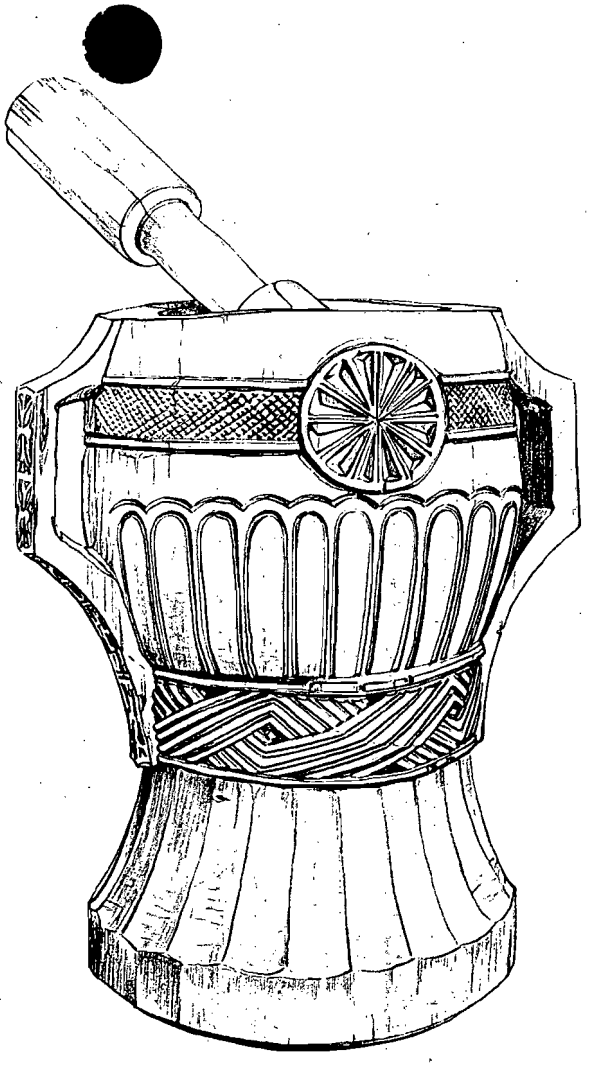
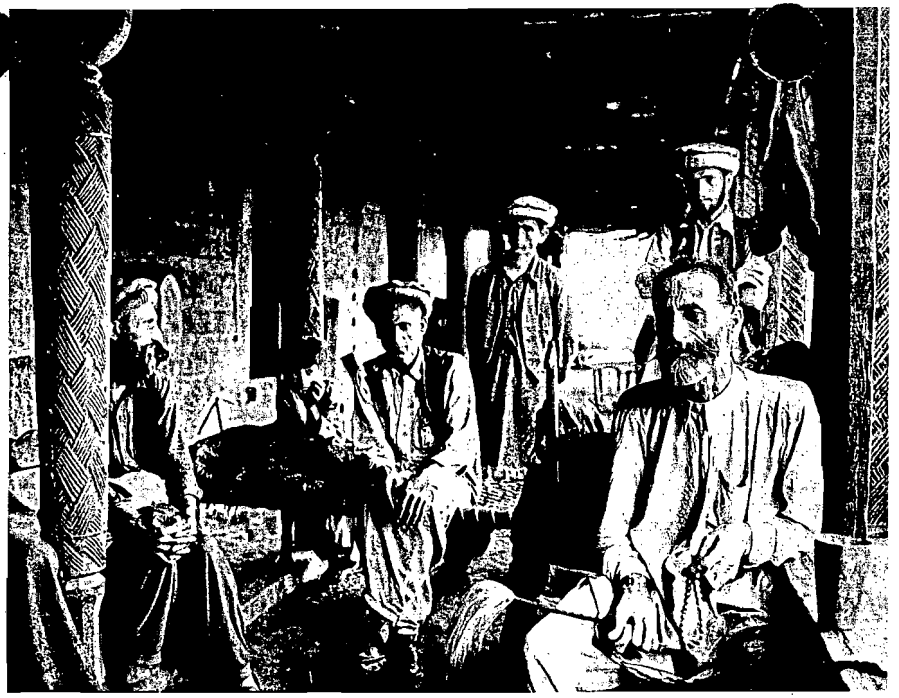


Fig. 51: Mortar and pestle made by *bāri* Din Muhammad of Kamdesh, a famed wood sculptor (died 1963).



113

113 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, August, 1960.* For many years one of the greatest of the men of influence in Nuristan was Haji Mohammed Afzal of the Utadari clan, son of Chandlu Astan, grandson of Latkam Chandlu, great-grandson of Astan Latkam, great-great grandson of Kamuta Astan, great-great-great grandson of Astan Outumer. His grandfather, through his mother Wazbri, was the renowned Torag Merak. The Haji is shown here on the right. A much respected man, he died in 1970. See also picture 2 and 3.–Photo: S.J.

114 *Wama, Pech Valley, early November, 1953.* The village mosque. Three hundred metres below, the Pech River rushes tumultously towards the Kunar River between mountainsides covered with evergreen oak forests.–Photo: L.E.

a) *M'amži k'a di k'ulom, m'amži,*
Thy-uncle what also shall-I-do thy-uncle,

b) *K'om M'ɛrek naw'o, tu m'amži?*
Kam Merek's grandson, thy thy-uncle?

c) *M'ɛrek naw'o, tu m'amži.*
Merek's grandson, thy thy-uncle.

What shall I do about your uncle?
Your uncle, grandson of Merek, the Kam?
The grandson of Merek, your uncle.

a) *M'amži*: Prs. *māma-i tu.*
Ka di: 'what also', 'whatever'.

(From Morgenstierne 1967: 1387)

114

VII. ARTS AND CRAFTS

The craftsmen of Nuristan are true artisans, since all 'art' is produced by the craftsmen. The carpenter who constructs a mosque or house is the same craftsman who decorates the timbers of the building with elaborate carvings. The wooden bowls are carved with designs by the same man who gives them shape.

To some extent there is a division of labour; among the skilled craftsmen *(bāri)* the carpenters, blacksmiths, and jewellers are to be found, while the *šewala,* producing leatherwork, pottery, and wickerwork, are considered to be less skilled. The female members of a blacksmith's household weave woollens, and make clothing and carpets. It may be that the same is true of all *bāri* and *šewala* women. A woman is never seen doing the work of a carpenter, blacksmith, potter, or shoemaker.

The younger craftsmen learn their skills from the older members of the family. If a pair of shoes has been ordered, an older and a younger bootmaker often sit side by side, one making the right shoe, and the other making the left shoe; the younger man carefully watching the older to note every new step in the procedure (Danish State Film Central, 1958).

Some crafts seem to be in decline, e.g., that of the potter, the blacksmith and the silversmith (Edelberg 1965, and Jones 1973/74). Other crafts appear to have been maintained at a high standard, e.g., weaving and carpentry.

To describe each kind of craftsmanship in detail would take us far beyond the intended scope of this book. But here and there in these pages the captions of various pictures and figures touch upon special problems connected with craftsmen's work, and the pictures themselves show examples of the implements used and the results produced. (For references to craftsmanship in the past see Edelberg 1960 and Jones 1970).

It should be emphasized that there is here a wide field for future investigations, especially for scholars and craftsmen interested in weaving and carving: the Paruni woollen cloth for cloaks and trousers, the Waigali carpets used by women as a cape during the coldest months of the year and as a bedcover at other times, the wickerwork from Nisheigrom, the pottery of Ameshdesh and the large ornamented earthenware vessels of Parun and lower Bashgal are examples of craftsmanship about which we know all too little. The details of such work need to be recorded soon.

It is apparent that productive life, and a good deal of the cultural life, in Nuristan would change out of all recognition if it were not for the work, the ability, and know-how of the *bāri* and *šewala.* They build the bridges, the aqueducts, and the water mills, they make the agricultural implements and the storage containers, they produce the clothing and the furniture, they build the houses and the stables, they make the music instruments, carve the symbols of rank, and build the most aesthetically pleasing mosques to be found anywhere in the landscape of Afghanistan.

Nuristani villages are of special interest because of the way they fit harmoniously into their natural environment—the steep forested mountain ridges of the Hindu Kush. The mosques and houses are not only fine examples of architecture, but are also examples of meticulous solutions to a craftsman's problems which even enable the buildings to withstand the frequent earthquakes of this unquiet geolo-

gical zone. The structures are also beautiful, ornamented as they are with excellent carvings, the style of which differs from one valley to another.

Here follows a short description of the various Nuristani house types (Edelberg 1974a and 1974b):

The basic units of measure in architecture have always principally been those of the human body, especially the hand and arm. Architecture in Nuristan is no exception. Sayid Ghulam, a carpenter of Keshtagrom, gave us the information in 1964 that the carpenter takes his measurements in ells (i.e., the distance from the elbow to the fingertips). In Kati this measure is called *dŭšt*, literally 'arm' (Konow 1913). The ordinary house should measure three bays square. One bay (Kt: *štümbələ)* corresponds to the distance spanned by the outstretched arms from fingertip to fingertip, i.e., a fathom. The four pillars around the hearth in the *āmā* should be set at a distance of one *štümbələ* from each other and, at the same time, each one should be one *štümbələ* from the nearest wall.

The typical house everywhere in Nuristan has two storeys. Sayid Ghulam said that the vertical distance from the ground of the lower storey to the roof of the *āmā* ought to be three *štümbələ.* Thus we see that the typical house without the addition of verandahs, storerooms, or hay stores is cubical. In front of this cube two bays can be added, either as a verandah (which is level with the first floor of the *āmā*, or as a storeroom (Wg: *berim-ganja / -gai),* the roof of which then serves as a verandah.

If a roofed verandah with carved pillars is added—as in lower Bashgal (see pictures 3 and 113) and in the case of the *kantar kōts* of Waigal (pictures 87, 88 and 89)—the pillars or columns are set up at a distance of one *štümbələ* from the front wall of the *āmā* and at intervals of one bay or *štümbələ* from each other.

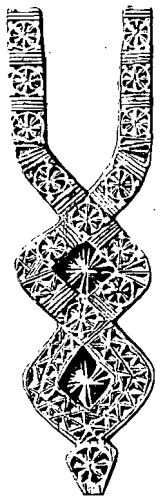
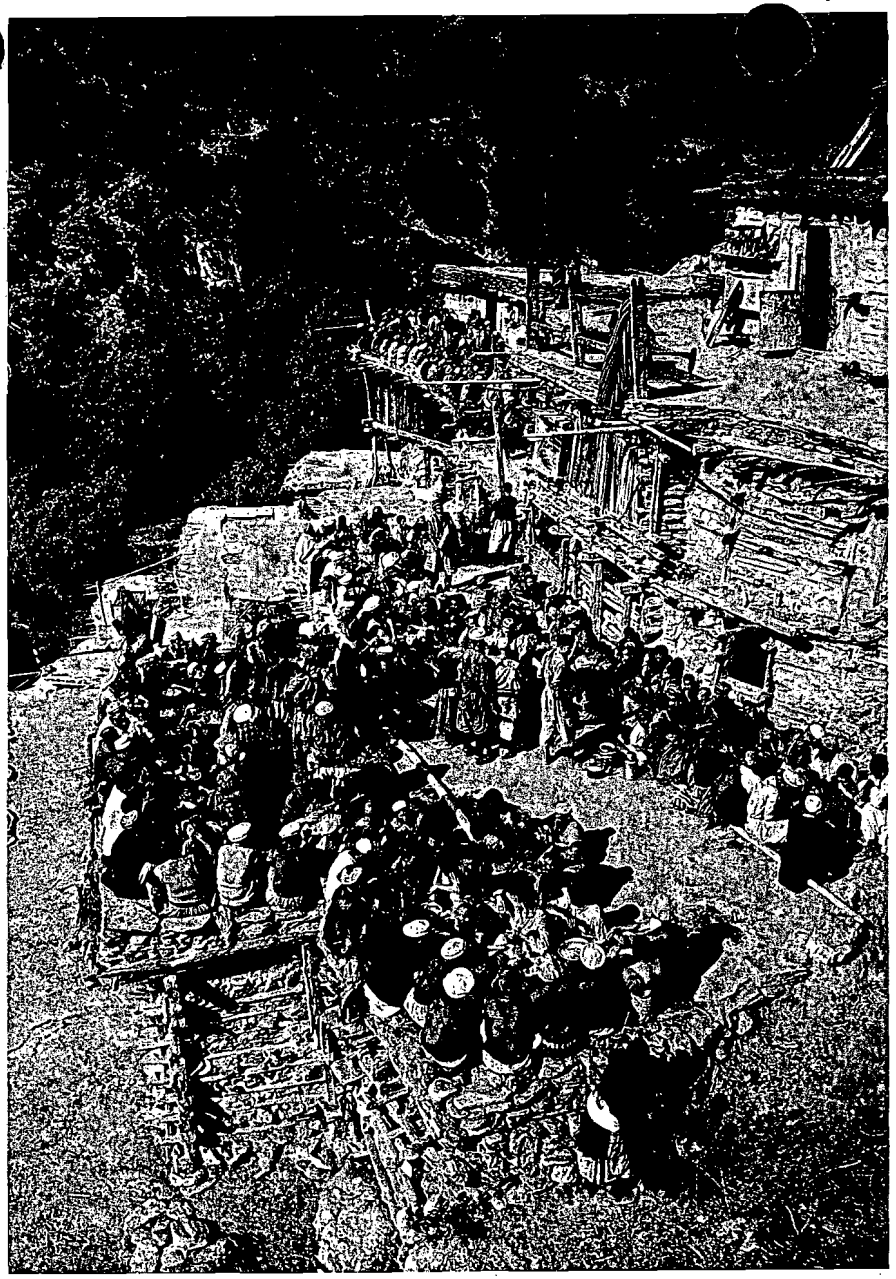


Fig. 52:
Grōš aṷtela ṷiŋ, the head and "entangled" horns of a he-goat, decorated with symbols of rank.



115 *Nisheigrom, Waigal Valley, 30 July, 1970.* Feasts of Merit are still occasionally given in Nuristan, though much less frequently than in former years. Wedding feasts are given in every village in Autumn and funeral feasts may be given at any time, but feasts of merit are rare. Sir George Scott Robertson attended many feasts of merit in 1889–90, but no other European had seen one until July 30th, 1970 when this picture was taken. The feast, given by Kuvera of the Sunaratdari, was divided in two parts; the men ate in the morning and the women and children ate in the evening (see pictures no. 116, 117 and 118).–Photo: S.J.

116

117

The entrance to the *āmā* from the verandah is ordinarily the only access to the interior of the house. In the centre of the roof over the hearth it is common to find a smoke hole constructed according to the 'lantern design', which is based on wooden squares placed diagonally within each other (see fig. 50, p. 111).

The lower floor, which serves as a storeroom, is reached through an opening in the floor in a corner of the *āmā*. This hatchway is usually equipped with a trapdoor.

The walls of the *āmā* are built of horizontal logs held in place by vertical poles on both sides of the wall (Wg: *pik'ū*), which are a little shorter than the distance from floor to ceiling in the *āmā* and which pass through an upper and a lower wooden clamp (Wg: *nakuṛ'ä*). These clamps have been inserted horizontally into the wall structure so that their ends project out from either side of the wall. The vertical *pik'ū* are usually placed at a distance of one bay from each other and one bay from the house corner. The walls may consist entirely of horizontal wooden logs or timbers, but usually in place of every second log there is a layer of stones and mud (pictures 93 and 94). In Bashgal the use of vertical poles stuck through wooden clamps is rare today (see below).

If the walls, or some of the walls, in the lower storeroom are built of stones (as in picture 45) this work is not the responsibility of the *bāri*, but is done by the owner himself.

A solution, which may justly be called constructive, has been found for nearly all the architectural problems of the Nuristani house, except for that of the access to the verandah and the entrance. This access is usually clumsy and quite haphazardly put together, though we have never had an explanation (see fig. 61, p. 131).

The Parun House

In Pashki, Zumu, and Kushteki the houses are built on rather steep slopes so that all rubbish and debris slides down the mountain, whereas in the villages of Dewa, Pronz, and Shtiwe, which are built in the middle of the valley, debris tends to accumulate in the narrow lanes between the houses. For this reason

Fig. 53: Recitation of songs in Bragamatal (from Morgenstierne 1967: 1379).

116 *Nisheigrom, Waigal Valley, 30 July, 1970.* The cooking for Kuvera's feast began early in the morning and continued most of the day. Fifteen fires were kept burning to prepare food for the entire village. Informants estimated that the following quantities of foodstuffs were prepared: 35 large male goats, 5 cows, 180 litres ghee, 140 kg cheese, 565 kg millet, and 565 kg wheat.–Photo: S.J.

117 *Nisheigrom, Waigal Valley, 30 July, 1970.* At midday when the first feast was over and the second had not yet begun, the men retired to a shady place by the river and began to dance. The *bāri* musicians played drums, *(dāḍ* and *timiki)* and reed flutes, while the men clapped and danced.–Photo: S.J.

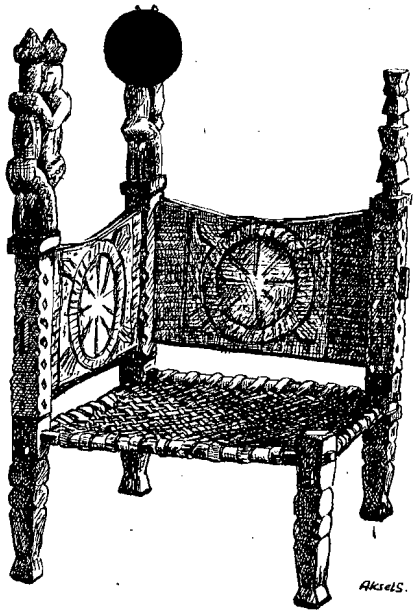


Fig. 54:
In pre-Muslim times a man could earn the right to sit on a certain kind of chair *(ṣiŋ-niṣ'ā)* by giving numerous public feasts. This chair is a reconstruction from a single carved post, 147 cm high, in the Kabul Museum, but the collections include a similar chair from Kegal (Morgenstierne 1954: 257 and Edelberg 1960a: 280).

these last three villages sit in mounds and the lower rooms of many houses are underground (Edelberg 1972). As far as we know, the deserted village of Düröshwa (Buddruss, personal communication) has never been visited nor studied by any scholar. Whether it forms a mound or just consists of some open ruins is therefore not known. This may be another site for archaeological investigation.

To reach the entrance of the *āmā* in Pashki one climbs the usual Nuristani ladder from the ground to a kind of improvised verandah outside the upper floor. In Dewa, Pronz, and Shtiwe the houses are frequently three-storeyed because some kind of walled room has been arranged round a wooden louver over the smoke-hole (see fig. 58). In such cases one enters the *āmā* from the original roof by means of an interior ladder (Motamedi and Edelberg 1968, fig. 7).

Between the four supporting pillars and the roof of the *āmā* two heavy horizontal beams are inserted. In Parun and in Waigal, these two beams run parallel to the entrance wall. The Parun *āmā* sometimes has additional pillars nearer the entrance wall. The beam which they support is parallel to the two main beams.

The Waigal House

In principle, Waigali houses are constructed in the same way as Paruni houses, with the exception that the *āmā* in Waigal is always square and never has more than four pillars and, particularly important, these four pillars reach from the floor of the lower storey *(ateram-ganja)* to the ceiling of the room above—the *āmā*. Only the upper half of these pillars—the part visible in the *āmā*—is carved with symbols of rank.

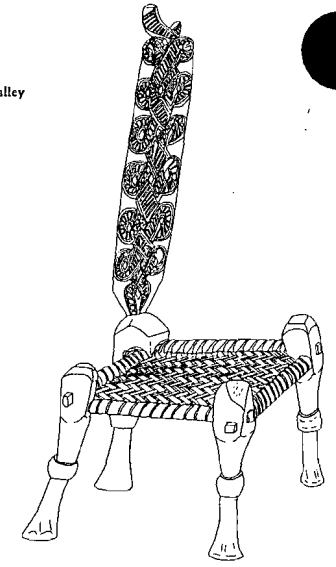


Fig. 55:
This chair *(ṣiŋ-ka)* was made for a man of high rank from the Parun Valley (Edelberg 1972: fig. 33). Drawing by Babamorad Feraghi.

In Wama one finds houses with a rectangular verandah of the same breadth as the *āmā* outside the entrance. This projects a distance of two bays from the front wall; the outer edge of the verandah is supported on the cliff below by long poles (picture 144). But here and there in the village of Wama and nearly everywhere in Waigal Valley, this verandah forms the roof of a panelled hay store *(berim-ganja)* which is in front of the *ateram-ganja* (see fig. 61). The lower edge of the hay store is supported on the cliff by long poles (picture 29). The usual entrance to the *berim-ganja* is from the *ateram-ganja*, but in the harvest season an opening in the panelled lateral wall of the *berim-ganja* may be arranged temporarily so that the women can bring hay directly into the storeroom.

The Bashgal House

The typical house of the lower Bashgal has an *āmā* with four octagonal wooden pillars (see fig. 50). The special feature of the Bashgal house is that the two beams supporting the roof run at right angles to the entrance wall and traverse the roofed verandah at the same level, together with the uppermost beams in the lateral walls. Here they are supported by a row of pillars, carved with very fine patterns, and by the ornamented front structure of the house, the window-posts of which are slotted into a large, finely carved sill (fig. 47 and picture 95).

The typical walls of the *āmā* in Bashgal are built without the use of *pik'ä* and *nakur'ä*, although they are sometimes seen. The walls are today built exactly as they were in the time of Robertson: "It is usually well built, of cedar timber, and rubble stones embedded in mud mortar. The timbers, fashioned with the axe [read: adze] alone, and roughly morticed together at the angles of the building, form a series of wooden frames upon and between which the masonry is built" (Robertson 1896: 484). See also Lentz (in D.i.H. 1937, Abb. 113).

It is ch[illegible]ic of house-building in the Bashgal area, that as many as five houses may be built together, making a kind of 'super house' which provides space for several households within the same family (see picture 2).

If an owner cannot afford to build the decorated verandah immediately, the house may stand unfinished for years with the beams of the roof projecting into the open air.

For detailed information, with drawings and measurements, on Nuristani mosques, houses and all other types of buildings in Nuristan, including *sagams / wřikâ*, hay stores with pitched roofs, water mills, towers, and bridges, see Lennart Edelberg, *Nuristani Buildings* (in preparation).

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXVII, Plate VIII.

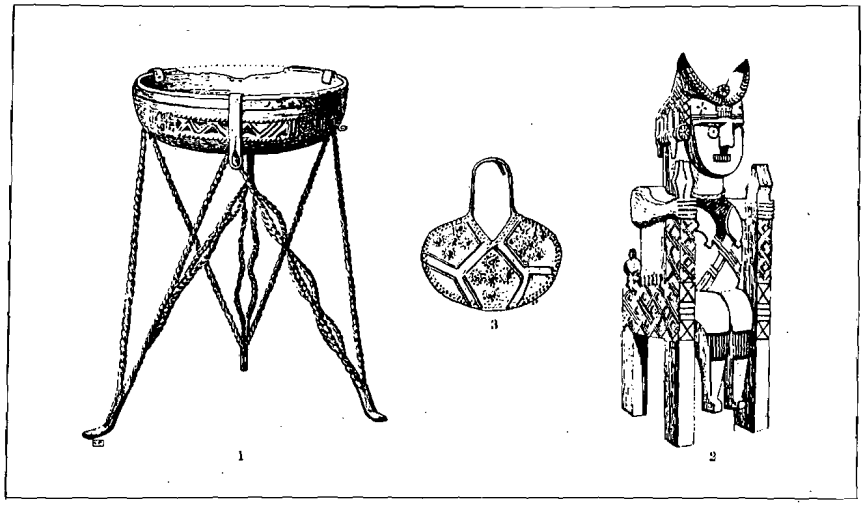
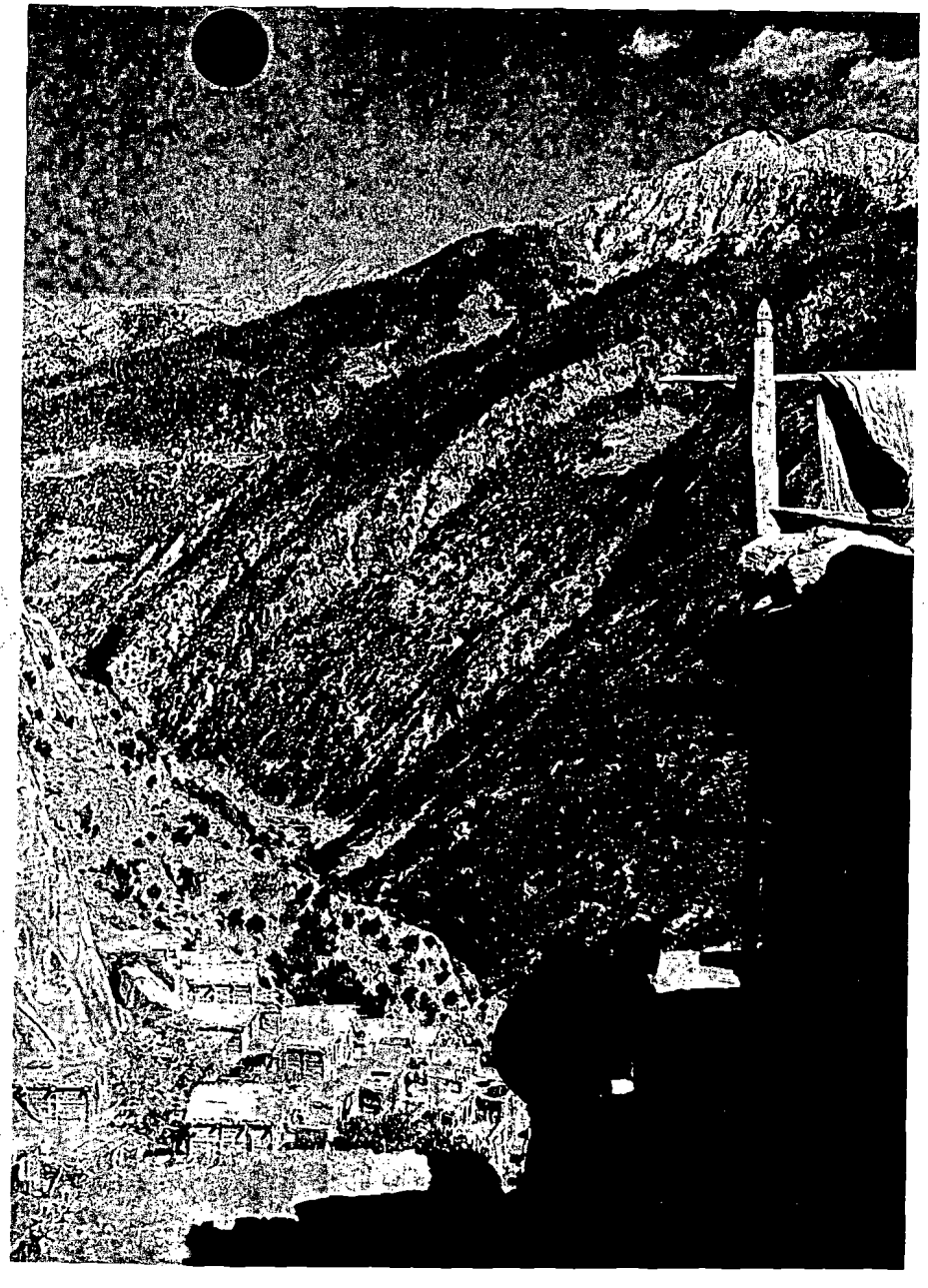


Fig. 56:

1. Ornamented tripod used by the Waigul Káfirs, legs iron, bowl carved walnut. It is intended to hold food at meal times. In the Bashgul valley wicker hour-glass-shaped low tables (CHÍRO) are employed for this purpose.
2. Female effigy (JUKOR=WOMAN and DÁZI=EFFIGY). As this is seated in a chair it would be called SHINGIABAN. DÁZI or PASHINGIABAN DÁZI. Erected to memory of deceased person, one year after funeral ceremonies. These effigies are of all sizes—some very large.
3. Earring or brow ornament worn by WAIGUL Káfirs. Made of silver. The ornamentation is probably intended for mammary glands. Bashgul woman's large earrings are called CHUK, the small variety TUCH, and particular kinds have special names, KARMALI, KARWÁI, KARDUNAT, etc.

(From Robertson 1898: 89).

118 *Nisheigrom, Waigal Valley, 30 July, 1970.* In the evening the women and children of the village gathered on the rooftops for their feast. Each person received roasted beef and/or goat's meat, millet (cooked like rice), clarified butter (ghee), bread, cheese, and salt. The feast, in addition to celebrating the wealth and status of Kuvera, was to mark the raising of the roof beams on the re-built village mosque.—Photo: S.J.



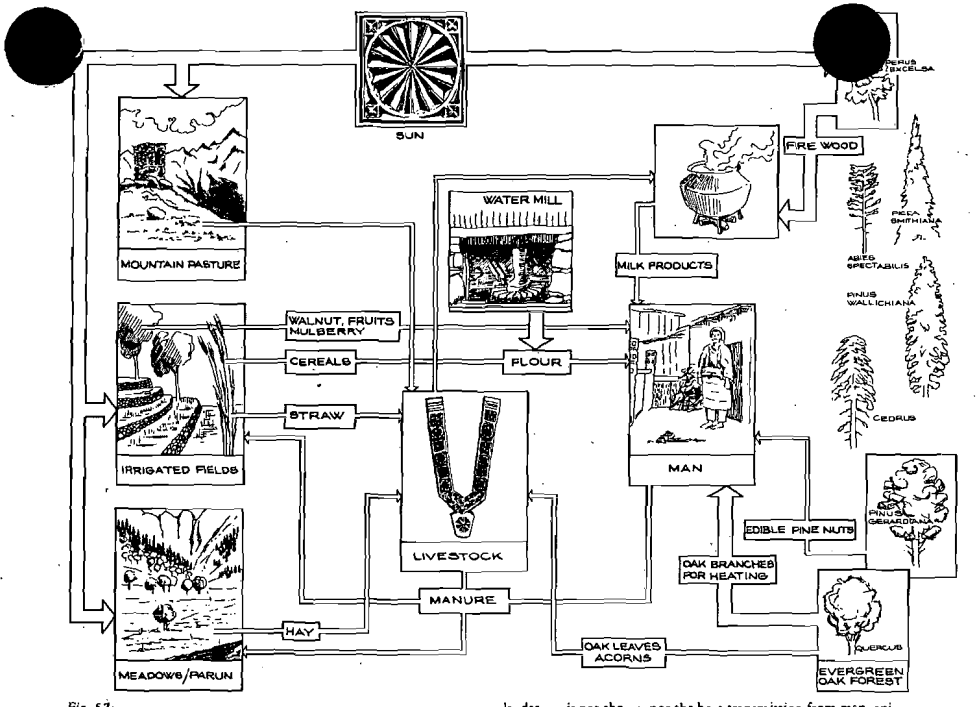


Fig. 57:
Energy Flow Chart: The broad paths radiating from the sun represent the flow of energy from the sun to the Nuristani landscape causing photosynthesis. Two other broad paths show the energy flow from the forest to the Nuristani community. Finally, the broad path from the watermill represents the only mechanical energy used in Nuristani society.
The flow of energy from man to the productive areas of the landscape is not shown, nor the heat transmission from man, animals, and houses to the atmosphere and space.
The narrow paths show the main pathways of organic matter in Nuristan. As meat is not part of the everyday diet, there is no path from the livestock directly to man. In the same way, because manure is scattered so widely in summer over the grazing areas, there is no direct path from the livestock to the mountain pastures.

119 *Wama, Pech Valley, early November, 1953.* View to the North-East from the village across the Pech River. The river can be seen in the bottom of the V-shaped valley.
The oak forests thrive where the mountain slopes are so steep that terracing is practically impossible, except for some limited areas along the river. Higher up, the coniferous forest shows bare spots which are the result of burning, where terraces have been built. To reach these fields in the busy Springtime the women of Wama have to start before daybreak every morning with their baskets on their backs. The basket may be full of manure for the fields, and on top of that three or four bleating kids, that are to be taken to some *šal*, or a small baby. With their long balance sticks of olive wood in hand, they hurry down to the bridge, and then ascend to their fields to work the whole day. They cannot afford to return at dusk with the basket empty, but must fill it with dry oak branches for firewood.
Above the coniferous forest the mountain pastures are visible; they appear small when seen from below, but in fact they constitute by far the largest of the productive areas in Nuristan. In these high regions the adult men spend most of the summer with their flocks and herds—receiving news from the village only when people come up to fetch ghee and cheeses before the shepherds leave one pasture to go to another.—Photo: L.E.

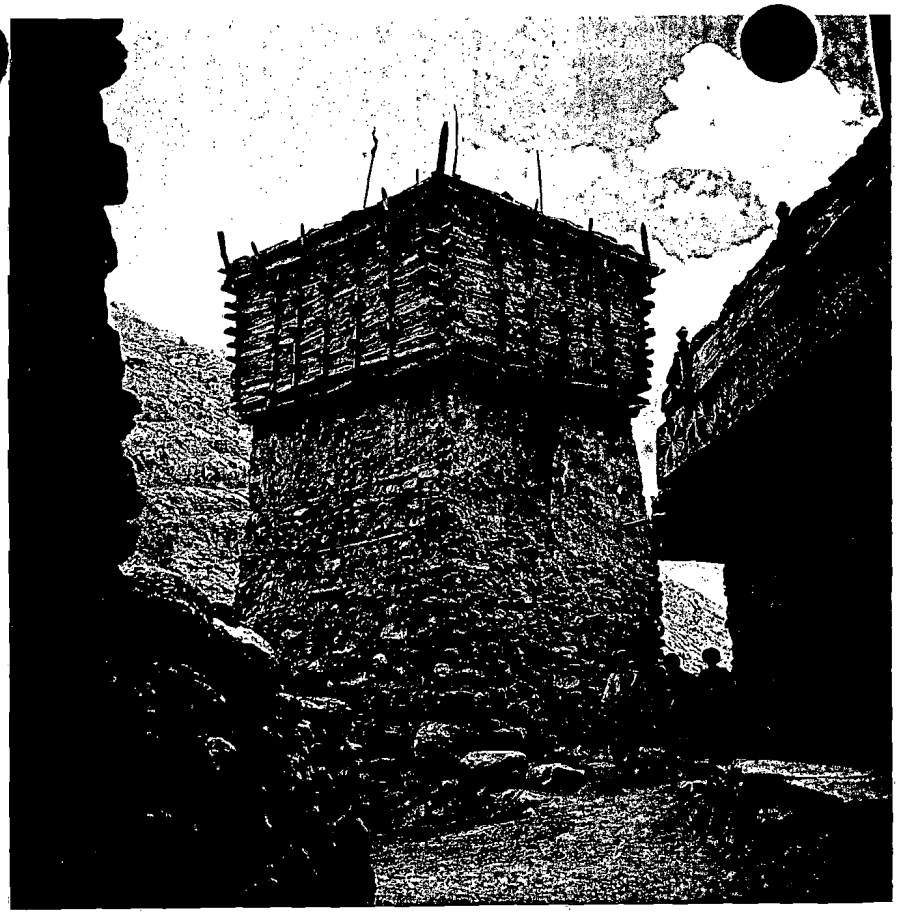
VIII. ORAL TRADITIONS

WITH A SECTION ON MUSIC BY THOMAS ALVAD

The oral traditions of Nuristan might—if we accept the limitations and recognize the ethnocentric bias of the approach—be classified into categories according to what *appear* to us to be their significant features. Thus we might speak of:

1. traditions that seem to recount supernatural events (e.g., the discovery and release of the sun and the moon, the miraculous deeds of deities, the intervention of benign and malicious spirits into the affairs of men, etc.);
2. traditions that appear to deal mainly with mundane 'historical events' (e.g., migrations of people from one area to another, the founding of villages, wars, etc.);
3. traditions in which the central figure is an ancestor or folk-hero who performs great deeds (warrior exploits, feast-giving, hunting, display of extraordinary powers, etc.), and thus constitutes a model for others to emulate;
4. traditions which account for some condition or circumstance (the reputation of a village, why a certain lineage or clan died out, how a certain village, clan, or lineage got its name, etc.). These may incorporate both 'mundane' and 'miraculous' events;
5. songs or verses sung to music, frequently in the form of a prayer or hymn to pre-Muslim deities. Today such songs are known to only a few of the older men. Many popular songs now are concerned with the deeds of a hero/ancestor, or with a particular event in the life of such a figure. Some others are love songs, and in addition, there are songs sung by shepherds when herding their animals or churning milk;
6. genealogical traditions, usually long and often complicated recitations of male names down through the generations from some apical ancestor who gave his name to a clan or lineage. It may well be that the more extensive genealogies, comprising more than 30 or 40 generations and with numerous branches, requiring an accurate knowledge of the relationships between a hundred or more individuals, living and dead, was always specialist knowledge, known perhaps only to a few men and women in each lineage.

Over the years several scholars have systematically collected oral traditions in Nuristan. The first was Professor Wolfgang Lentz. Since his expedition in the 1930's, two other scholars—Professor Georg Morgenstierne and Professor Georg Buddruss—have made most important contributions to our understanding of this very rich aspect of Nuristani culture. In comparison with the extensive records of Nuristani oral traditions, both published and unpublished, which now exist, it is only possible to give here a sampling of this material, as a larger book than this could be published on oral traditions alone.



120

120 *Shtiwe in Parun Valley, 1 August, 1964.* The village watchtower. The four upright poles on the roof were all, until recently decorated with the horns of wild markhor. One horn is still left. The tower served as a stronghold in pre-Muslim times, when Shtiwe was attacked by tribes from other valleys. It stands next to the house of the Kusum clan, and is consecrated to Mara. The Mara house contains the largest four columned hearth-room in all Nuristan. The new mosque—built since 1935 on the site of the old one—is seen to the right.—Photo: L.E.

121 *Shtiwe in Parun Valley, 21 October, 1953.* Old Wāči from the Disni clan plays his *urb'ā*—four-stringed guitar—while singing hymns to Pušāši, Disni, Māra, and Mān.—Photo: P.R.

122 *Pashki in Parun Valley, late October, 1953. Alogolōg,* a good-natured, ridiculous chap searching for a girl to marry, suddenly appears in the doorway during a feast. His mask is made of a pumpkin, and his clothing is "Siah Posh", i.e., the traditional black clothing of the Kati. The Paruni are "Safed Posh", i.e. their garments are woven from white wool. Only the blacksmiths in Pashki are exceptions to the rule. They come from the Kati area. The appearance of the *alogolōg* on the scene is their contribution to the festivities. The *alogolōg,* however, is never lucky enough to find a girl who wants to marry him.—Photo: L.E.

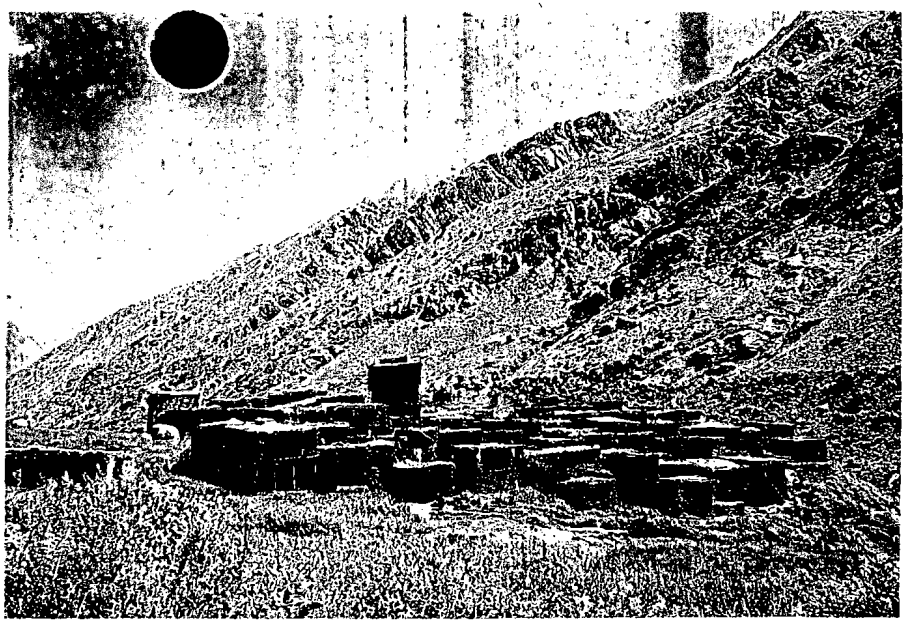


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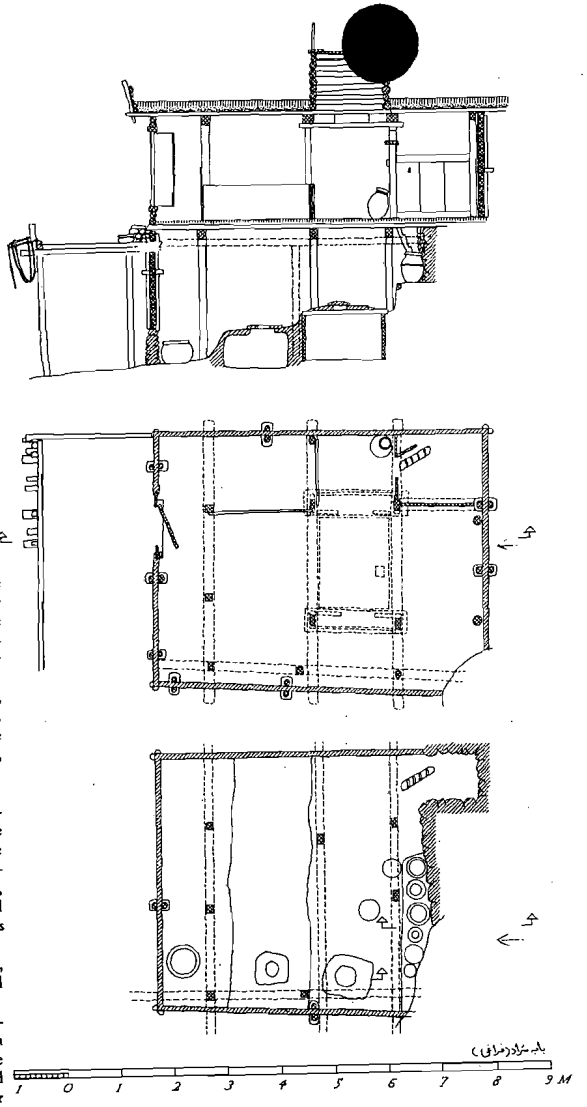
Fig. 58:
Cross-section and plan of a house in Pashki. On the ground floor are bins for grain.



123 *Shtiwe in Parun Valley, 31 July, 1964.* The village lies at an altitude of 2,850 metres and is above the timber line. The mountains are rough and their vegetation sparse. According to an old belief, the goddess Disni created the water channel seen behind the village. From that, and some other water channels, the area round the village is irrigated.
Some distance to the right of the tower a large, square wooden box-like construction can be seen. It encloses the smoke hole over the hearth of the house of Mara, where Kusum, the head of the clan, lives.–Photo: L.E.

124 *Pashki in Parun Valley, late May, 1954.* The apricots are in blossom. The village lies at an altitude of 2,550 metres, the valley below at 2,500. The opposite side of the valley is covered with coniferous forests of *Picea smithiana, Abies spectabilis, Pinus wallichiana,* and some *Pinus gerardiana,* edged by a grove of hazel *(Corylus jacquemontii)* towards the cultivated bottom of the valley.
In the snowy mountains farther down the valley, two passes, the Mum Pass and the Atsui Pass, lead over to Aspit and Ktiwi.
Pashki claims to have grazing rights down to Chetras, where they confront livestock owners from Ameshdesh in Waigal Valley, who claim the same rights. But the people of Pashki argue: "We had to build the trail from Kusht to this place by order of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, when he had conquered the land, because that area belonged to us".–Photo: L.E.

This is a story from Pronz about a fairy and a 'jini', each of whom had a son. The jini's son was called Guduza; the fairy's son was Ašpegra. These two had many adventures. When the fairy's son grew up, he married and we take up Ašpegra's story from this point:

"One day he saw smoke. He said: "What is that?" His wife said: "That's a place from which no one returns alive."

He was surprised and went towards the smoke. There was a house and he went inside. He saw an old woman. She had made her knees like a tripod. Her left hand was like fire and her right as a spoon. She stirred with her spoon inside her stomach cooking something.

"What are you doing?" he asked. "From where have you come?" asked the old woman.

He said nothing. He went, brought a tripod and wood, made a fire, placed a stone pot on it and gave a wooden spoon to the old woman and said: "Isn't it good?"

The old woman was glad and said: "Now you have done so much for me. I would like to save you. I have seven sons, strong, bad-tempered and with bad complexions. If they see you, they will eat you, so go at once, because I am afraid."

The boy said: "I will not go. If you leave me for them to eat or if you hurt me, it is up to you. I haven't got any place to go."

The old woman said: "Now they are coming. Go and hide yourself. They are each bringing a markhor."

The old woman said: "The eldest will come in front of all. You should say: *månda na båshi! And* then, if he says: *zinda båshi!*, it is all right. You can come out. But if they say nothing, they will kill you and me."

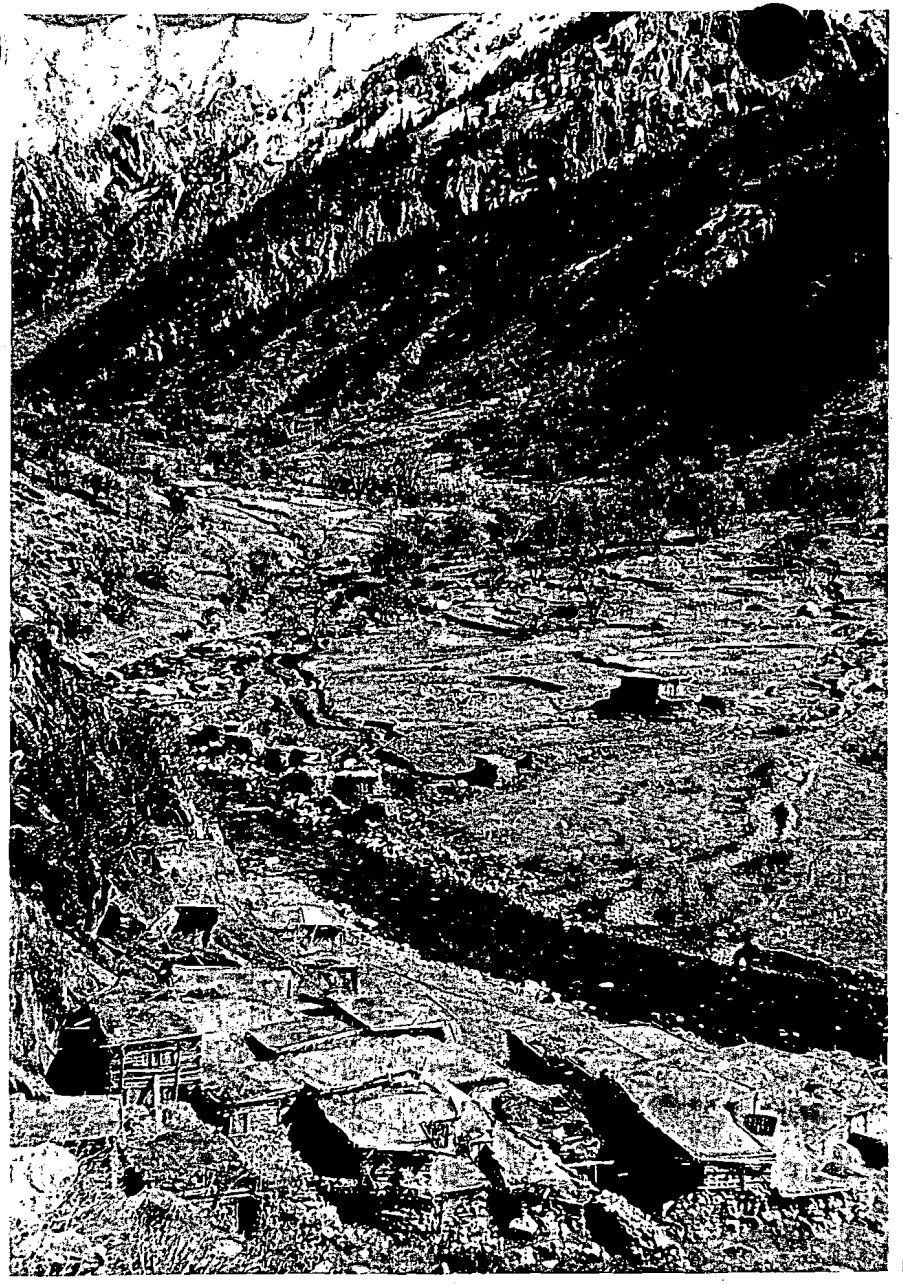
The sons came, they went inside. The boy said: *"Månda na båshi!"* The eldest said: *"Zinda båshi!"* in reply. "From where have you come?"

The boy said nothing. They ate their game and the old woman said: "He has done so much for us, he has brought a tripod, made a fire, brought a stone pot and a spoon."

They were all glad and went to sleep.

In the morning when they were leaving the house one of them said: "You can eat everything in this house. But you should not go to that wall, and you must not *touch* that shutter."

125 *Pashki in Parun Valley, late October, 1953.* View from the village, which, like Zumu is situated on the mountain slope, down across the winter stables at the foot of the cliff to the horizontal water-mills at the river side. Artificial water channels lead water from the river to each mill.
The mill a little apart from the others in the centre of the picture does not get its water directly from the Parun River, but from a minor tributary from which the water channel passes along the top of a dam to the wooden chute behind the mill (see picture 107). The mouth of the bed of the stream is dry, Autumn being the period of least precipitation. In the midst of the fields is a winter stable belonging to the blacksmith. The blacksmiths in Parun are Kati and apparently came to Shtiwe at a very early time. According to oral tradition this building moved by itself from Shtiwe down to Pashki one night. Since then the blacksmiths have lived in Pashki. But they do work for the whole valley.
The deciduous hazel groves *(Corylus jacquemontii)*, the nuts of which are an important source of food for the people, are visible between the cultivated fields and the coniferous forests. The hazel groves are carefully tended and the meadows under the trees are swept of old leaves every Spring so that hay can be gathered later.—Photo: K.F.



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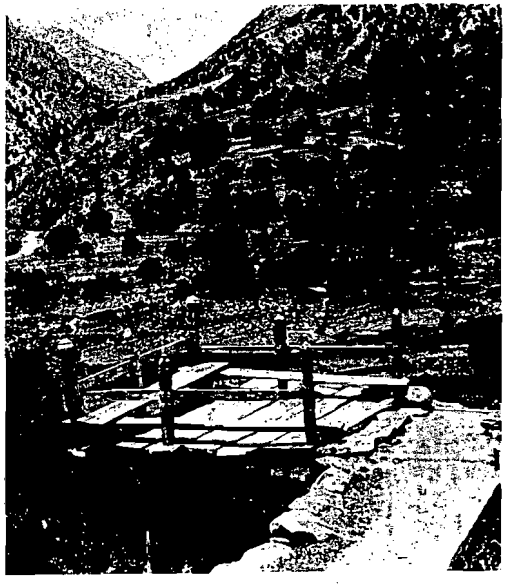

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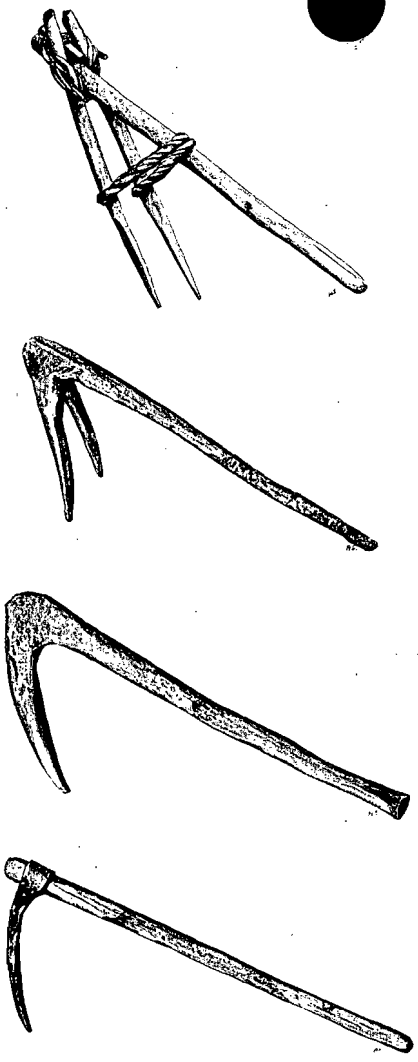
Fig. 59:
After the seeds are sown and the soil broken with a traction fork or plough, hoes are used to break the remaining clods. In 1948 when these four hoes were acquired iron was still rare in Nuristan. The bottom hoe has an iron head; the two middle hoes are of oak. These three implements are from Wama in the Pech Valley. The top hoe, shown in picture 126, is from Parun near the timber line, and is made of willow.



126 *Pashki in Parun Valley, early May, 1948.* The terraced fields in Parun are not horizontal as fields usually are in the V-shaped valleys, but slightly sloping.
On this field at the foot of the cliff beneath the village, maize has been sown on the untreated surface that has been fallow all winter. Two men are occupied with ploughing the seeds down, using the indigenous Nuristani plough, which is drawn by one ox guided by a long yoke projecting towards the ploughed side. The yoke rests against the zebu-hump. The plough itself is attached to the yoke at the right side of the ox. It is made entirely of wood and thus actually represents an ard. The women have started to break the clods with their hoes.—Photo: L.E.

127 *Kamdesh, Bashgal Valley, September, 1960.* Although by 1960 bows and arrows were no longer used for hunting in Nuristan, the double-stringed 'pellet bow' was still commonly in use—at least in the Bashgal Valley. Nearly every youth carried one to shoot small stones at birds and fruit, or to engage in impromptu competitions with friends. In 1966 and 1967, however, there were scarcely any of these bows to be seen in the Bashgal Valley.—Photo: S.J.

128 *Ktiwi, Ktiwi Valley, 23 May, 1948.* A platform used as a resting place or a meeting place. They are known by various names: *sagam, wīkā, kun'u* and in each case have been built for public use by a private individual. The gift of such a platform to the village involves considerable expense for not only must the *bāri* be paid for getting the timber down from the mountain, cutting the planks, and making the structure, but a feast must be given to the entire village. When the platform is complete the host then distributes from 30—50 goats among the lineage segments of the village. What he gets in return is the honour of having done something for his village and the platform is embellished with his rank symbols for all to see.—Photo: L.E.

They w[illegible] and the mother also went out. The boy went to the shutter and put his finger into a hole in the shutter. When he took it back it was all gold. He could not restore it.

The old woman came and saw the golden finger. "What have you done? In the evening when my sons come home, they will kill both of us."

She wrapped a piece of cloth around the finger and said: "If they ask, you should say: I have cut my finger."

In the evening when the sons came, they saw the wrapped finger and said: "What have you done to your finger?"

The boy said: "I have cut my finger with a knife."

The next day when they went out again, the boy went to the window and put his whole forearm into the hole of the shutter, and it was all gold when he took it back.

When the old woman saw this, she said crying: "You have brought us bad luck." She wrapped a big piece of cloth round the whole forearm. In the evening when the sons came, they asked again: "What is the matter?" The boy said: "It is the wound of yesterday which has caused all my arm to swell up."

The next day, when all went out again and the mother too, the boy went to the shutter, forced it with his two hands and got it open. He went inside. He saw a pool. He saw a horse in the pool. On the right shoulder of the horse was the Sun, on the left the Moon.

He went and took out the horse. The old woman came. She saw it and cried loudly. But the boy rode the horse and went to the sky.

The seven sons on the mountain side saw that the sun had risen. They were surprised and came immediately to the house. They saw that the boy had taken the horse and had gone to the sky. The sons wanted to kill the boy. The boy said something to the horse. The horse said: "Look into my left ear. If you do not find anything in my left ear, there is a sword inside its sheath in my right ear."

The boy took the sword and killed all the seven sons. He gave the Sun and the Moon to the world, because Imra had told him to do so.

Imra and Ašpegra were good and close friends after that. Imra was in Kushteki."

(The complete story is given in Edelberg 1972: 47–54).

2. *HISTORICAL EVENTS*

There are many stories, songs, and poems concerning the 1895–1900 Afghan invasion. Here are some examples:

a)	*Ulər'estə,*	*k'ai*	*wer'i*	*č'i*	*āzy'o?*
	Alas,	what	news	up	arrived?
b)	*Dic*	*g'ulə*	*Kat'ə*	*K'obule*	*bəř'a.*
	Twelve	districts	Kates	to-Kabul	(he-) took-them-away.
c)	*Skəl'iko,*	*sun*	*aṭ'i*	*uč'eř*	*bo.*
	O Skelik,	(thy) golden	bones	scattered	became.

Alas, what (awful) news have reached (us)!
(The Amir) has taken the twelve Kate clans away to Kabul.
O Skelik, your precious bones have been scattered.

(From Morgenstierne 1967: 1382)

a)	*Kar'ãǰi*	*n'ä*	*přetum*	*ĩ*		*kar'ãǰi,**
	Hairlock	not	I-give-up,	my		hairlock,
b)	*Barm'uk*	*Gumar'o*		*mamy'e*		*Koly'a!*
	Barmuk's	Gumaro's		(my-) uncle's		O Koli!
c)	*Arṣ'əm*	*sun*	*kar'ãǰi-wo,*			*Koly'a!*
	Silken,	golden	hairlock-having,			O Koli!

I will not give up my Kafir lock, my (own) lock!
O Koli, son of my maternal uncle Gumaro, son of Barmuk!
O Koli, with the silken, 'golden' Kafir lock!

* *Karãǰi:* the characteristic scalp-lock worn by the pagan Kafirs. The poet was not willing to give it up and become a Muslim. Kooli (portrait in Morgenstierne 1932) was a devout Muslim already in 1929.

(From Morgenstierne 1967: 1383)

a)	*Přec'o,*	*mär-ǰ'usa,*	*par'ulə*	*'emu!*		
	Go,	O princess,	upwards	let-us-go!		
b)	*Kuř*	*di*	*p'a-lasya,*	*k'ai*	*di*	*k'umu?*
	Children	even	disappeared,	what	even	shall-we-do?
c)	*Im'u*	*darʸ'ẽ*	*gəǰ'õ*	*čoř*	*asy'o,*	*šum?*
	Our	family's	therefore	custom	was,	I-wonder?

Go, my princess, let us go up ('to my father-in-law's house, in order to escape')!
Our children have been lost ('taken away by the Afghan invaders').
Did our marriage customs exist for this purpose, I wonder?

(From Morgenstierne 1967: 1382)

a)[1]	*M'am*	*Am'ir*	*Sa'ib*	*tã gusso.*	
	My-uncle	Amir	Sahib	to had-gone.	
b)[2]	*Dic*	*gule*	*Kat'õ*	*pi-m'in*	*řuč,*
	Twelve	districts	of-Kates	on-forehead	light,
c)[3]	*U'tinə*	*M'ärə*	*niš'olo.*		
	Standing	King	making-sit-down.		

My maternal uncle had gone to see the Amir (in Kabul).
(My uncle who was) the light on the forehead of the twelve Kate village-communities.
He made the King, who was standing, sit down.

1 *Mam;* 'mother's brother'.
2 *Gul:* 'valley', 'country', 'district', but as a standing term about 'The twelve Kate villages' of the upper Bashgal Valley.

3 At first I misunderstood this line, imagining that it was the King of Afghanistan who kindly permitted the visiting Kafir chief to be seated. But it was pointed out to me that it was the Kafir who allowed the Amir to sit down in his own palace!

(From Morgenstierne 1967: 1381–1382)

Another story involving chairs was told by Malik 'Ulus Khan from Kurdar. He had been born two years after the Afghan invasion of Kafiristan and had been a member of the National Assembly in the reign of King 'Amanullah. He told that on one occasion, as a delegate from Nuristan, he had attended a meeting with King Habibullah in Jalalabad, together with three other Nuristanis. They found, however, that there were only three vacant chairs, and therefore they all remained standing until the Afghan King ordered the soldiers to bring another chair [Afghans are accustomed to sit on the floor]. The King then issued an order that, in future, when Nuristanis were present, they should always be provided with chairs (Edelberg's field notes, Kurdar, 29 February, 1948).

In 1935 Professor Dr. W. Lentz, as a member of the Deutsche Hindukusch Expedition made a collection of Nuristani Folklore and Poetry, comprising some 100 items. A great many of these had been recorded on wax cylinders, all of which were destroyed during World War II. In this chapter we bring three of the items from that collection in facsimile. The remainder are still unpublished.

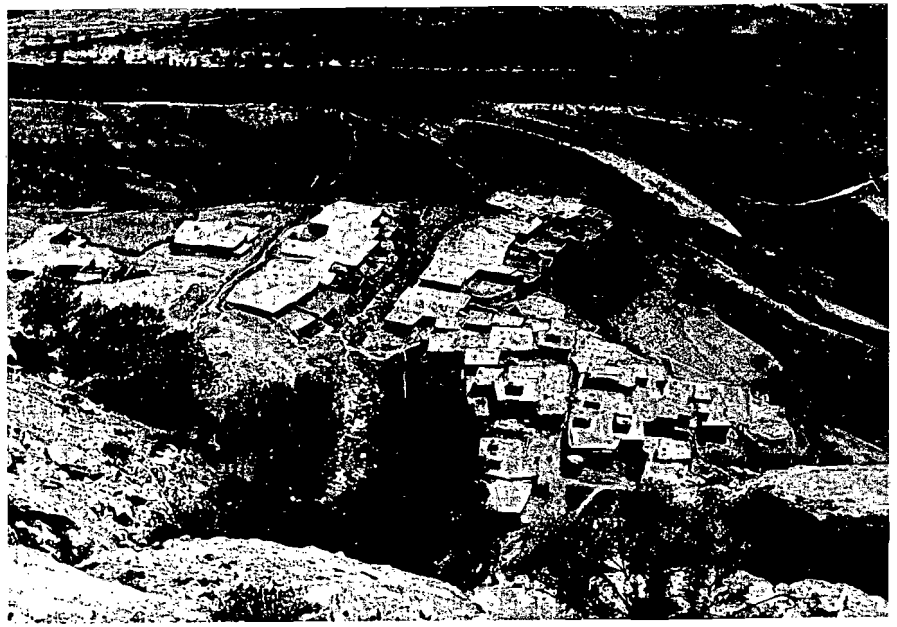
129 *Pronz in Parun Valley, 15 June, 1948.* Paruni men wear white woollen cloaks, long in winter, short in summer, and long trousers which are wound around the leg and bound with a narrow band of woven wool.
The village tower rises in the centre. It is called *Silmič*. To the right is part of the village mound, where the narrow lanes have been filled up by debris so that parts of some houses are now underground.–Photo: L.E.

130 *Kushteki in Parun Valley, 27 May, 1948.* The view from the cave stronghold built over and into the cliff behind the village. The buildings are divided by the stream of Imra: dwellings to the right of the picture and the winter stables to the left.
On the left side of the stream of Imra stood the great temple, the religious centre of Kafiristan–a site still not built on. The place is partly hidden behind the trees, as is the mosque. The Mulla of the mosque is called the Great Mulla of Nuristan, and people from the surrounding valleys who are visiting Parun Valley for some purpose always proceed to Kushteki.
Among the poplars to the left is the famous hole leading to the nether world. Two paths lead to the river side where an outdoor place of prayer has been made.–Photo: L.E.

131 *Pronz in Parun Valley, 22 October, 1953.* The village mound is visible to the right of the tower. To the left are the winter stables.
Up the valley lies Shtiwe at the mouth of the valley which leads down from the Kamah Pass (background).
On the meadow between the village and the river one can glimpse the house in which the local hero Ašpegra found the pool where the Sun and Moon were imprisoned and saved them for the benefit of the world (see pp. 122–124).–Photo: L.E.

132 *Dewa in Parun Valley, 23 October, 1953.* Threshing on the meadow outside the village. The women thresh with short sticks, the men with oxen which trample the straw. Threshing should be finished on the last day of the month of *ki-la*. On the first day of the month of *wac-po (waspä)* the flocks and herds from the different cooperative herding groups *(pel'ä)* arrive in the village and are allowed to graze on the stubble fields and threshing-floor. Straw is collected into big stacks on the rooftops of the winter-stables (right) for winter fodder.
Hay from the irrigated meadows which are so common in Parun Valley, is stored in the same way. Grain is stored in deep clay bins under the lowest rooms in the underground part of the houses.
Bāz Mohammad, one of the holiest and richest men in the Parun Valley is the owner of forty cows–more than anybody else in the valley. He stands on the left observing the threshing of his barley.–Photo: L.E.

129



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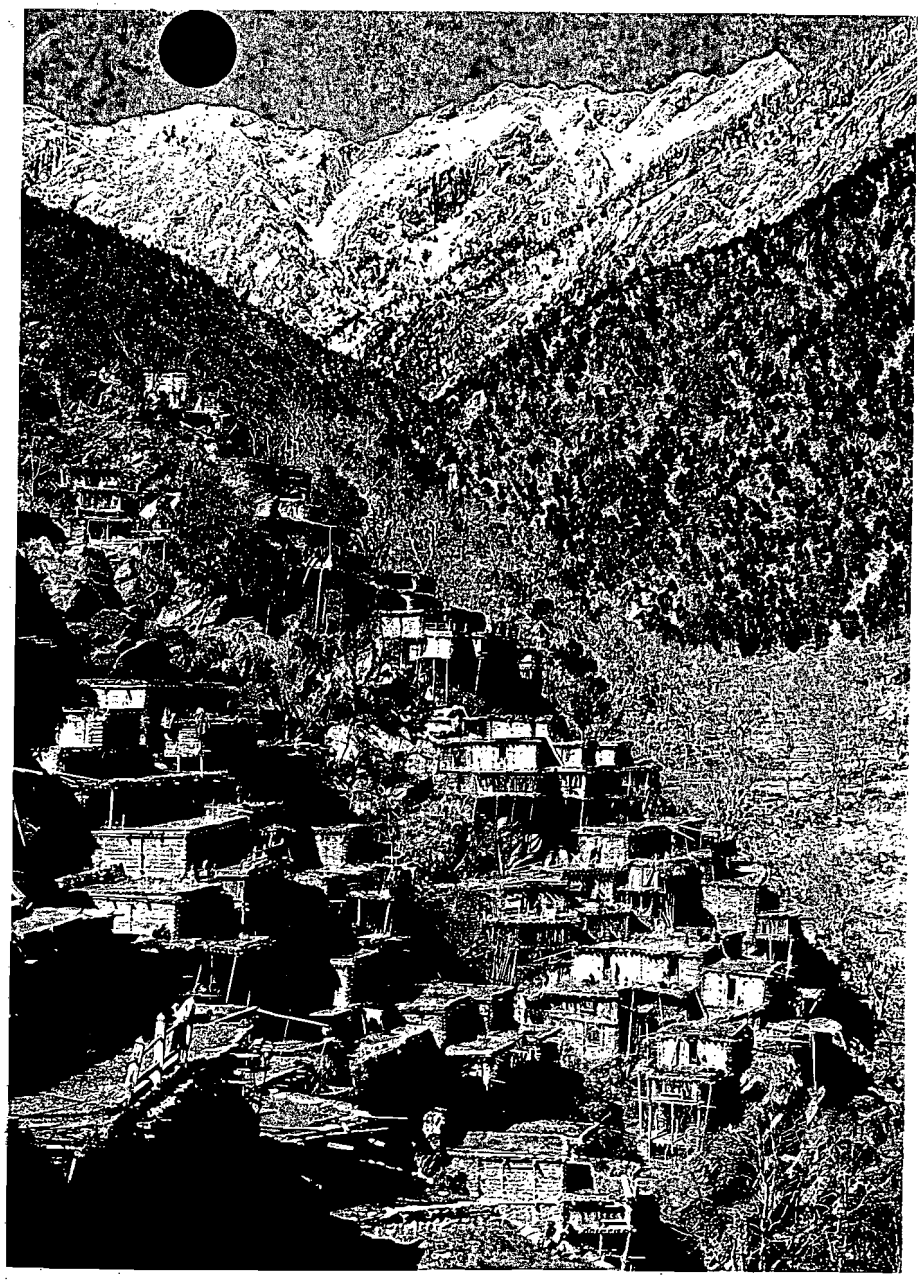


137

1 a) Das Wasser soll sich teilen, das Wasser von Ramgul,
b) daß wir gehen und Schirindschan sehen.
c) Bravo ihr, bravo sei euch, ihr Frauen,
d) daß ihr hinaufgingt und auf dem Madschischpit mit den Männern Krieg führtet.

2 a) Wir hatten nach Kewreds kein Verlangen.
b) Von dort aus machten wir in Patscho eine Versammlung.
c) Schalerdiner (und auch) Mumands brachten wir hinauf.
d) Ziegenböcke brachten sie den Kamdeschern.

Vorgang: Fehde zwischen Gesin (die zum Linerstamm gehören) und Patscho, 1934 oder wenigstens nicht viel früher. [Note: Gesin and Patsho are situated a little below Pushol].

Leute von Gesin waren nach Kewreds (2 a) im unteren Ramgultal gewandert. [Note: Kewreds lies near Mandul]. Als sie nach einiger Zeit zurückkehrten und auf Gesiner Boden Eichen abholzen wollten, erhoben die Patschoer Einspruch. Streitobjekt war der zwischen Patscho und Gesin gelegene Abhang Madschischpit.

Die Gesiner, die wenig zahlreich waren, wurden von ihren Frauen tapfer unterstützt (1 c). Leute aus Kamdesch, Schalardi und Mumandi–Stämme aus der Umgegend von Kamdesch, die mit den Kamdeschern kamen–(2 c) hatten sich zur Schlichtung des Falles herbegeben und wurden, wie üblich, abwechselnd von den beiden Dörfern ernährt (2 d). Während der Verhandlungen ist in solchen Fällen Waffenstillstand.

Form und Metrum: zwei als Vierteiler mit Reim a b c gebaute Strophen mit 9–11 Silben. Durchschnittlich 4 Hebungen mit regelmäßiger Zäsur nach der 6. Silbe.

3. *ANCESTORS AND FOLK-HEROES*

It will have been noted that, in verse form, the presentation shows a remarkable economy of words. Here is a tribute to a great man:

a)	*Diz*	*mi*	*ro,*	*Atelkye*	*nəw'o*
	Twelve	'mi'	chief,	Atelk's	grandson,
b)	*M'ora,*	*gəř*		*w'u- lasyoš*	
	O Mor,	necklace		down-you-lost	
c)	*Padš'a*	*al*	*sĩ'e*	*pi-mič.*	
	King's	great	army	in-middle.	

Twelve times you won the rank of 'mi,' O chief, Atelk's grandson!
O Mor, you lost your necklace
In the midst of the King's great army.

a) *Mi:* an honorary title, won by heroes who had, after a ritual vow at the altar of the War-God, gone on a raid and killed Muslims. It gave the right to wear up to 12 pheasant feathers.
Ro: 'rich', 'chief'. (From Morgenstierne 1967: 1388)

In co[illegible]e story form has no such restrictions and many stories are very long, with a wealth of detail. Here is a story that relates the circumstances surrounding the birth of Demuta, folk-hero of Nisheigrom:

"Pātūl had seven daughters. Six of them were married. One, the youngest daughter, still lived with her father. She was not married.

One day she went with Pātūl to the mountain pastures. When they came to a resting place on the mountainside, the girl told her father that she had to do something. She went into the bushes and Pātūl went on ahead. When he was gone, a large bird (called *pāǰt)* flew down. Its wing brushed the girl's shoulder.

After three months, the girl knew that she was pregnant. She went to her father and said, "Please find a husband for me." Pātūl was angry. "You are not married," he said, "and yet you are with child. Why have you done this bad thing?"

Pātūl would not listen to his daughter's explanation. He sent her away.

When the influential elders *(düštü-düštü)* of the village heard that Pātūl had sent his youngest daughter from his house, a few of them went to talk to him as mediators *(duwřāi).*

"Why did you send your daughter away?" they asked. "You have found husbands for your other daughters. What has happened?" Pātūl told them that his daughter was with child.

The mediators went to see the girl to hear her story. She told them about the *pāǰī* and what had happened on the mountainside. When the mediators heard this they at once returned to tell Pātūl. He heard them but he refused to accept the story. Again, the mediators went to see the girl. "What shall we do?" they asked. "Your father does not believe the story."

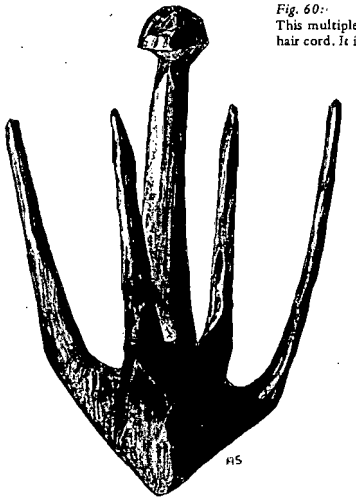
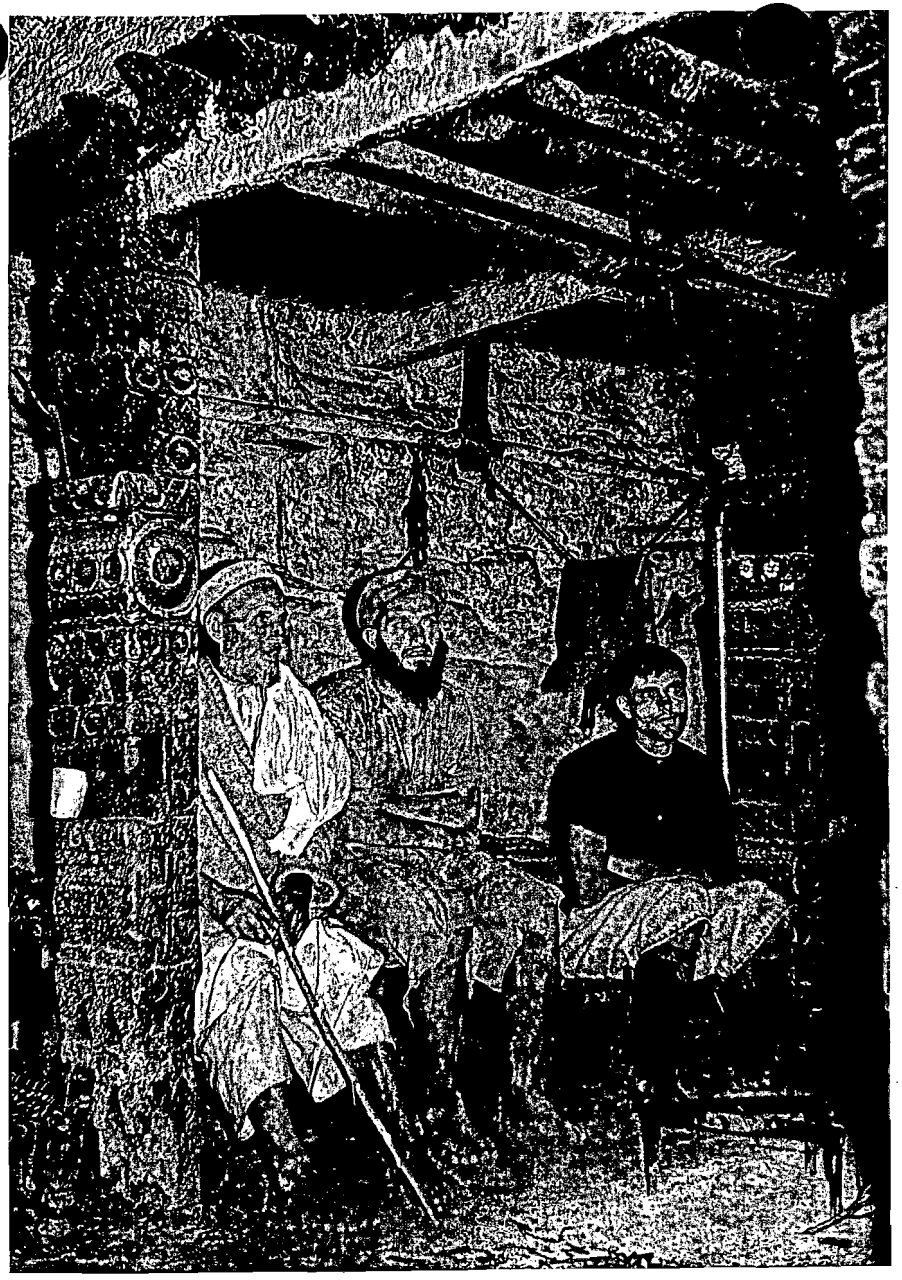


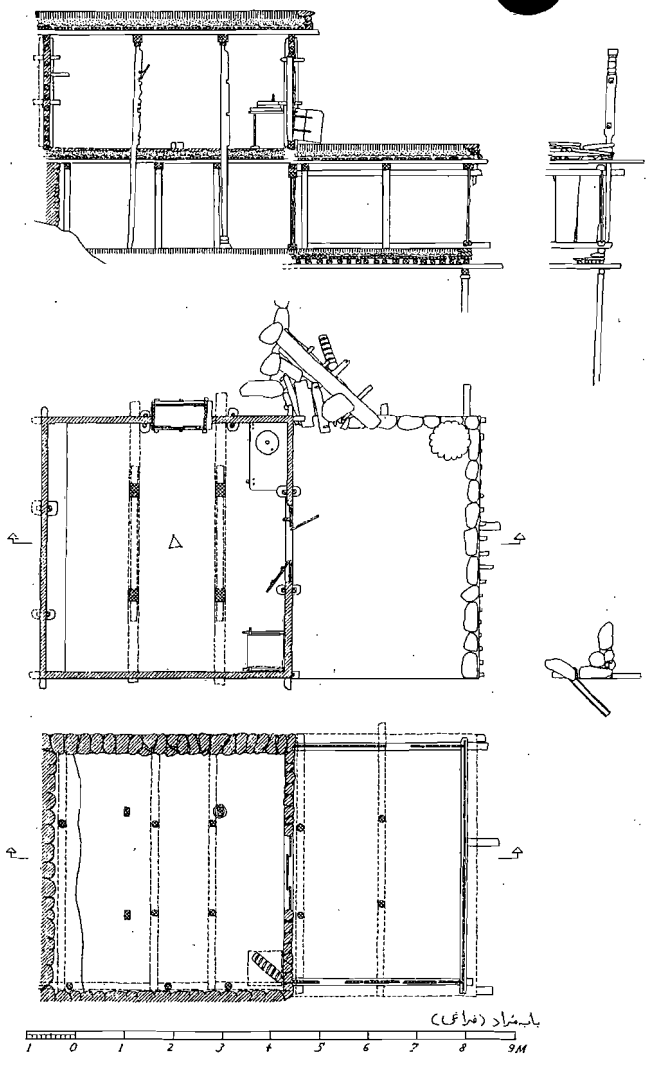
Fig. 60:
This multiple hook, carved from oak, is made to hang from the rafters of the *āmā* by a goat-hair cord. It is used to hold bags, clothing, shoes, and anything else up off the floor.



138 *Zhönchigal, Waigal Valley, late September, 1953.* Malik Haji Mohammad, the most prominent man of the *žū-deri,* and two other landowners, sitting on a bed on the left side of the hearth-room. Normally a man of his rank would have taken a seat on the right side nearest the rear pillar, but probably he has given up his place to honour a guest.
Between the first and second pairs of columns two loose beams have been inserted and across these some poles with carved animals' heads have been placed. On these poles things are placed for drying —a stool with a newly plaited seat or an inflated cow's hide.
On the back pillar (right) a walking staff for a man of rank is hanging (see fig. 63).
The circular carvings on the pillars are interpreted by some informants as illustrating silver cups.— Photo: L.E.

139

Fig. 61:
Cross-section and plan of a house in Zhönchigal. Note table with rotary quern in right corner of the *āmā* (see picture 37 from the same house) and trapdoor leading down to *aterimganja* in left corner. Note also that the four carved pillars in the *āmā* run down through the *aterimganja*. Built into the right wall of the *āmā* is a food safe. Finally note access to open verandah (see text p. 115–116).



139
Nisheigrom, Waigal Valley, March, 1967. When the snow melts or turns to rain the flat roofs absorb a great deal of water. New houses leak badly for the first two or three years, but older houses leak little if at all, because the earth layers have become tightly packed. Any house, however, will leak if snow is allowed to lie on the roof and melt. Because of this, the snow is shovelled off (sometimes onto the roof of a neighbour's house below) as rapidly as it falls. Note long wooden gutters to take water from the roofs.–Photo: S.J.

"Wait [redacted] son is born," she told them. "If he speaks before drinking milk, then you will know that my story is true. If my son cannot speak at once when he is born, then my father can do as he likes about me."

When the mediators told this to Pātūl he said, "I do not want to see her in my house until this problem is settled."

Because Pātūl would not let her live in his house, the girl had to go to the *šawarṭ āmā* [segregated birth and menstruation house] before the usual time. There she stayed until her son was born. As soon as the child was born, Pātūl's daughter told the *šawarṭi* [woman in charge of the *šawarṭ āmā—a* kind of midwife] to hurry and fetch the influential elders of the village.

The woman brought them and they stood at a distance while she went into the *šawarṭ āmā*. "Take my son to them," said the girl. When the *šawarṭi* carried the new-born boy out to show the elders, he spoke to them, saying, "Bring me a bow and arrows." One of the elders sent to his house for a bow and arrow. These were given to the infant. The boy took the bow and shot an arrow high into the air. It came down on top of *diŋastūn* [the great rock, representing the creator Imra, that dominates Nisheigrom].

At once the elders went to the house of Pātūl to tell him what had taken place. "I am pleased that I was wrong," said Pātūl. "The boy's name will be Demuta."

When forty days had passed after the birth of her son, Pātūl's daughter could leave the *šawarṭ āmā*. She took her son home to her father's house. There Demuta again asked for a bow and arrow. He took these and climbed to the top of *diŋastūn*. From there he shot an arrow high into the air. It fell in that part of the village called Demučem [also, sometimes Sunaratčem] where the houses of the lineage *(māta)* of Sunarat are today. Demuta asked the people to build a house for him there where the arrow fell.

Demuta was a poor boy, because he had no father. His grandfather (Pātūl) gave him some goats. Demuta worked very hard. He became a rich man. He killed many men and he gave many feasts. He was famous all over the Kalashum.

Demuta had one son. His name was Āstān. From that Āstān all the people of the clan of Āstān are descended."

More stories about Demuta's life and death, together with suggestions concerning what may be his place in the oral traditions of Nisheigrom are given in Jones 1972. In section six of this chapter Demuta's genealogical relationships to the apical ancestors of his village are shown.

4. *CONDITIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES*

A story told in Nisheigrom explains why the lineage *(māta)* of *Seŋki-dari* has been visited by misfortune to such an extent that there are only two living members today (1967).

"In the mountains there is a stable *(šāl)* called Kūmér. Near this is a flat place where the cows and goats are milked. Not far away is another level place. One day, one of the herdsmen's dogs found two horns sticking up out of the ground. They were moving. A man, hearing the dog barking, came and saw the horns sticking out of the ground. This man was from the *Seŋki-dari*. The man began digging round

the horns and soon uncovered a deer's head. The deer spoke to him, saying, "Don't dig me [redacted] will prepare many *kos* of ghee for you. If you take me out, your lineage will decrease."

The man continued to dig, however. When he got the deer out, he killed it. It took 18 men to carry the meat back to the village. The meat was distributed to all the villagers.

From that day the numbers of the *Seŋki-dari* have decreased. They died" (S.J. field notes, 17 February, 1967).

Another story, also told in Nisheigrom, explains why the Kam people no longer live in Kamgul:

"The Kam people once lived near Wama. The place where they lived was called Kamgul. A man of Wama gave his daughter in marriage to one of the Kam men. After some time the girl's father and brothers wanted to see her, so they went to Kamgul. There the husband secretly killed his father-in-law and brothers-in-law. He gave his wife her father's and brothers' clothing to wash. She became suspicious, so, pretending to go away from the house, she instead stayed by the trapdoor, listening. She heard her husband playing the *waǰ*. He sang:

I killed your brothers and you
didn't know it;
I killed your father and you
didn't know it.
You have gone to wash the blood
from your brothers' clothes;
You have gone to wash the blood
from your father's clothes.

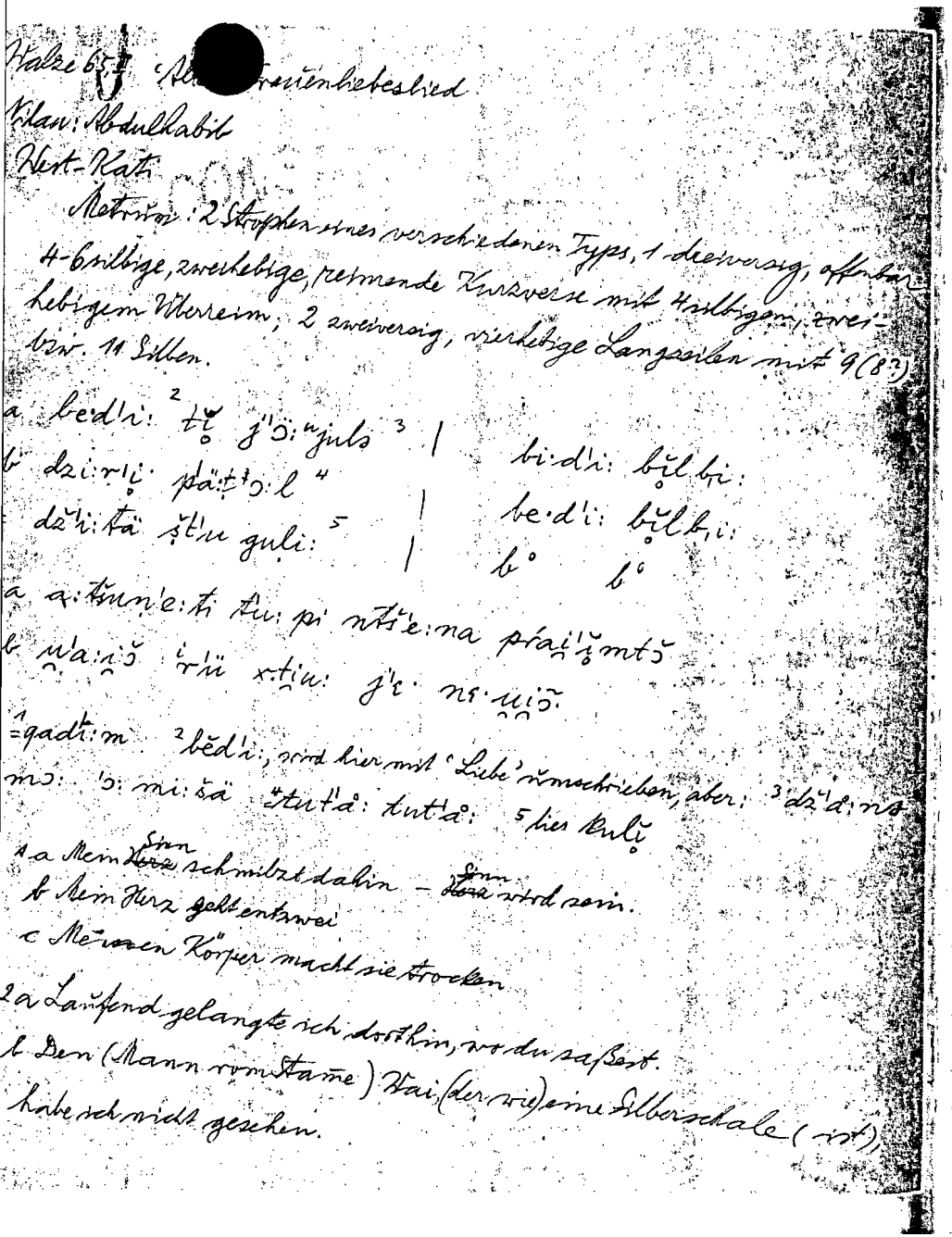
When the girl heard this she at once fled from Kamgul and returned to Wama to tell the men of her lineage, saying: "My husband has killed my father and brothers."

The men of her father's lineage collected the best warriors from the seven villages of the Kalashum. With weapons and drums they marched to Kamgul, prepared for war.

When they arrived, the Kam were singing and dancing on a rooftop in Kamgul. There was only one way down. A *bāri* went and took away the ladder. The men of Wama and the Kalashum attacked. Some of the Kam jumped down and escaped; others were caught and killed. The Kam were driven out of Kamgul. Those who escaped settled in Kamdesh." (S.J. field notes, 20 February, 1967).

5. *SONGS AND HYMNS*

From the collection made by Professor Dr. W. Lentz in 1935 (see p. 126):
'Altes' Frauenliebeslied
Nilau: Abdulhabib
West-Kati



Übersetzung:

1 a) Mein Sinn schmilzt dahin—Sinn wird sein.
b) Mein Herz geht entzwei
c) Meinen Körper macht sie trocken
2 a) Laufend gelangte ich dorthin, wo du saßest.
b) Den (Mann vom Stamme) Wai, (der wie) eine Silberschale (ist), habe ich nicht gesehen.

Metrum: 2 Strophen eines verschiedenen Typs, 1 dreiversig, offenbar 4–6silbige, zweihebige, reimende Kurzverse mit 4silbigem, zweihebigem Überreim; 2 zweiversig, vierhebige Langzeilen mit 9 (8?) bzw. 11 Silben.

From the collection made by Lennart Edelberg and Klaus Ferdinand in 1953 (Th. Alvad, Liste I, Fortegnelse over Nuristan-optagelser 1947–49 og 1953–54, in The Danish Folklore Archives, Copenhagen S.):

Muldesh (Mondesh) September, 1953, no. 1–3:
Music see p. 146.
1. singer, *mil-alōl:* Mohammad Din (singer *alōl-iwar)*
2. singer, *āt-alōl:* Joma Khan
Drummer, *dab-wela:* Malek Abdul Mohammad
Chorus, *äsamčilog*

Text:

An old man sings about his sadness:
1. *'īnad'ātin'ō̃ meim'ān am'ā nad'ā tin'ä*
guest (?) house
2. *'īnad'ātin'ā̃ grō̃ṣ aṇtala mai nad'ātin'ä*
ram-goat entangled horns
3. *'īma nurjān'i nurgal āwā böi tat'ō (wab'ä)*
4. *o drūṣa be že nam nazunām naṣṭō*
Drungsa somewhere ruined
5. *oī ma ta-wä-o-bayar kudā-walum oyädi*

Free rendering:

1. I am sad. If I had a son another man would not take over my beautiful house
2. My ram-goats with entangled horns would not be taken over by others
3. My daughter Nurjani would not be . . . (?)
4. My beautiful saeter in the mountain of Drungsa would not be ruined
5. Maybe somebody will come and marry my daughter.

In 1963 [redacted] Professor A. L. Gruenberg made a collection of Kati folklore and modern lyrical poetry. We bring here six of the items from that collection supplied with free renderings in English:

No. 1

I
avó-ri póvta gayúm
póvta-vu der kыгéyum
vallále širín vaṛéti
čimšívo patós vúlas'o

I
Я пошла за водой на речку
Возле реки он меня удивил:
Когда я увидела, что милый говорит,
Я уронила с плеча кувшин.

II
e, tu Kobúl pétuš-bo
yé-ta vaṛóv gáti yi
sunčivó koγáz vágati
širínstы nom ášemo

II
Когда ты поедешь в Кабул,
Сначала покожишь мне, потом иди!
Я возьму шитую золотом бумагу
И напишу на ней имя милого.

III
wú-gы pṛakúm vыtéti
gul níkceti ʒúnumo
manćí-tы mṛéti pis bulai
t'u ye-kы bы jwé pis-o

III
Иоднявшись на крышу, я стою,
Смотрю вниз по долине и плачу о тебе,
Люди исчезают, умирая –
Ты для меня исчез живой.

IV
Tu-ta saxtí bi-bo
Telgiróf-ta avól pṛavóv ju!
gul či-ni dгыgгeyi gúlo
gul śpati pṛólum.

IV
Если тебе будет тяжело, –
Девушка, пришли весточку по телеграфу.
И землю эту, сверху донизу весь длинный путь,
Пройду я и приду к тебе.

I I went down to the brook for water
At the brook he surprised me
When I saw that it was my beloved speaking
I dropped the jar from my shoulder

II Before you depart for Kabul
You must meet with me–then leave!
Then I will take the gold-sown paper
And write down the name of my beloved on that

III I will stand on the rooftop
And look down over the valley and weep for you
People disappear when they die
But you have disappeared from me alive

IV If it gets too difficult for you
Oh maid, let them wire a message to you
And I will go across this earth
The whole long way from above and down and come to you

Note: In the last verse it is apparently the young man who speaks. He may feel that he is in the telegraphic message and that he will come flying across the mountains down into the valley to her (L.E.).

No. 2

avó-ri póvta gayúm
ar'údom gác kulé bi
širíne šu γam bi baḍé
ye šu bыǰ́é-ta léyo

Я пошла за водой на речку,
„Принеси моисто", – говорит он.
Вздохи и тоска по любимому у меня в груди,
/Так что/ лобное место лучше, чем моя душа.

I went down to the rivulet for water,
"Bring me a/the necklace", he says.
My breast is full of sighs and longing for the beloved,
The place of execution is better than my soul.

No. 3

amonát vačpé kumó
xiyonát kay né-bula
aršéme dār'ú vutéti
nilы aršém kanúle

Мы побьемся об заклад,
Пусть никогда не будет измены ...
Шелк и серебро я положу
В обмен на локон темносинего шелка (?)

We will bet,
May there never be any betrayal/unfaithfulness ...
I will offer silk and silver
In exchange for a lock of dark blue silk (?)

The informant stated that it is common to compare beautiful hair with dark blue silk.

No. 4

šišé-ta bru kacéti
aṛyó kor ne-vařénum
šiša-yi gilós vúteti
parí šarmóli pišo!

/Она/ Я выглядываю из окиа
И нигде не вижу юношей ...
/Он/ Когда она ставит стаканы –
Она выглядит, как цветок, заставляющий стыдиться пари.

(She:)
I look out of the window
And nowhere I see the youth ...
(He:)
When she sets the glasses–
[She looks] like a flower, that forces a fairy to be ashamed.

The girl is so beautiful, that even the fairy feels ashamed of her own appearance.

No. 5

ni bы dro púpalinyov
pupoték ye ne-buné
kašrí pišo m'uk vařeti
ǰúko bыdы lušú peto

Когда я иду по этои улнце,
У меня отнимаются ноги.
При виде белых роз
Загораются души у девушек.

When I walk down this street,
My feet become paralyzed.
By the sight of white roses
The souls of the young girls catch fire.

No. 6 „mal[illegible]e te" kati
vóye pɨrjey s'am'á
sun čuko-ta dušt pírašti
ošukí vrilamo

„Не закрывай своих окон" –
Такую мольбу я послал /ей/
„Я положу руки на золотые груди,
Давай говорить о любви".

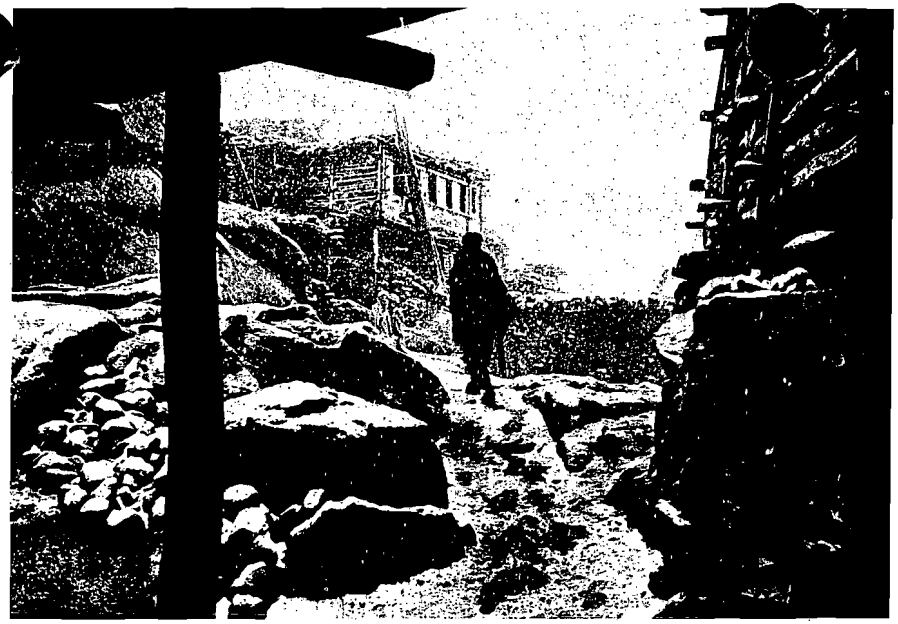
"Do not shut your windows"–
Such a request I sent [her].
"I shall put my hands on the golden breast,
Let us talk about love".

Other songs, hymns, and myths are to be found in various sections of this book where they have been arranged in conjunction with certain illustrations.

6. *GENEALOGIES*

Morgenstierne was the first to draw attention to the remarkable genealogical traditions of Nuristan (Morgenstierne 1950), which, as he showed, were remarkable in that many of them extended back into what he called 'the genealogical stratosphere'–through 30 or 40 generations and even beyond. This does not, of course, mean that everyone in Nuristan has memorized such information about his or her family. Many informants cannot name more than eight or ten generations of their ancestors, but a few older men have specialist knowledge in this respect and can recite genealogies by the hour. We have recorded such genealogical information in most of the Bashgal villages in and below Bragamatal, in all of the Kalashum villages of Waigal, and in many villages in Pech and Parun. Some genealogies have also been recorded from the Ashkun area of Western Nuristan. One of our most memorable sessions was with Kazana (Muslim name: Sher Gul) of Nisheigrom who, in a marathon recitation lasting two days, named everyone, living and dead, in his entire clan. He even sent by-standers off to fetch small children from various parts of the village so that he could demand their names and see that they were written down.

One result of his interest in our work is the following key genealogy, showing the relationships between the apical ancestors of every clan and lineage in the village. In other words, the genealogies of everyone in Nisheigrom (except *bāri* and *šewala* people) begin here:



140 *Malil, Ashkun, 29 December, 1960.* In winter all the livestock are in stables near the villages and there is no work to do in the fields. When it snows or rains, "everyone stays indoors".–Photo: S.J.

141 *Malil, Ashkun, 30 December, 1960.* Characteristically the village is built on a rocky spur where agriculture is impossible. The terraced fields are visible on the left.–Photo: S.J.

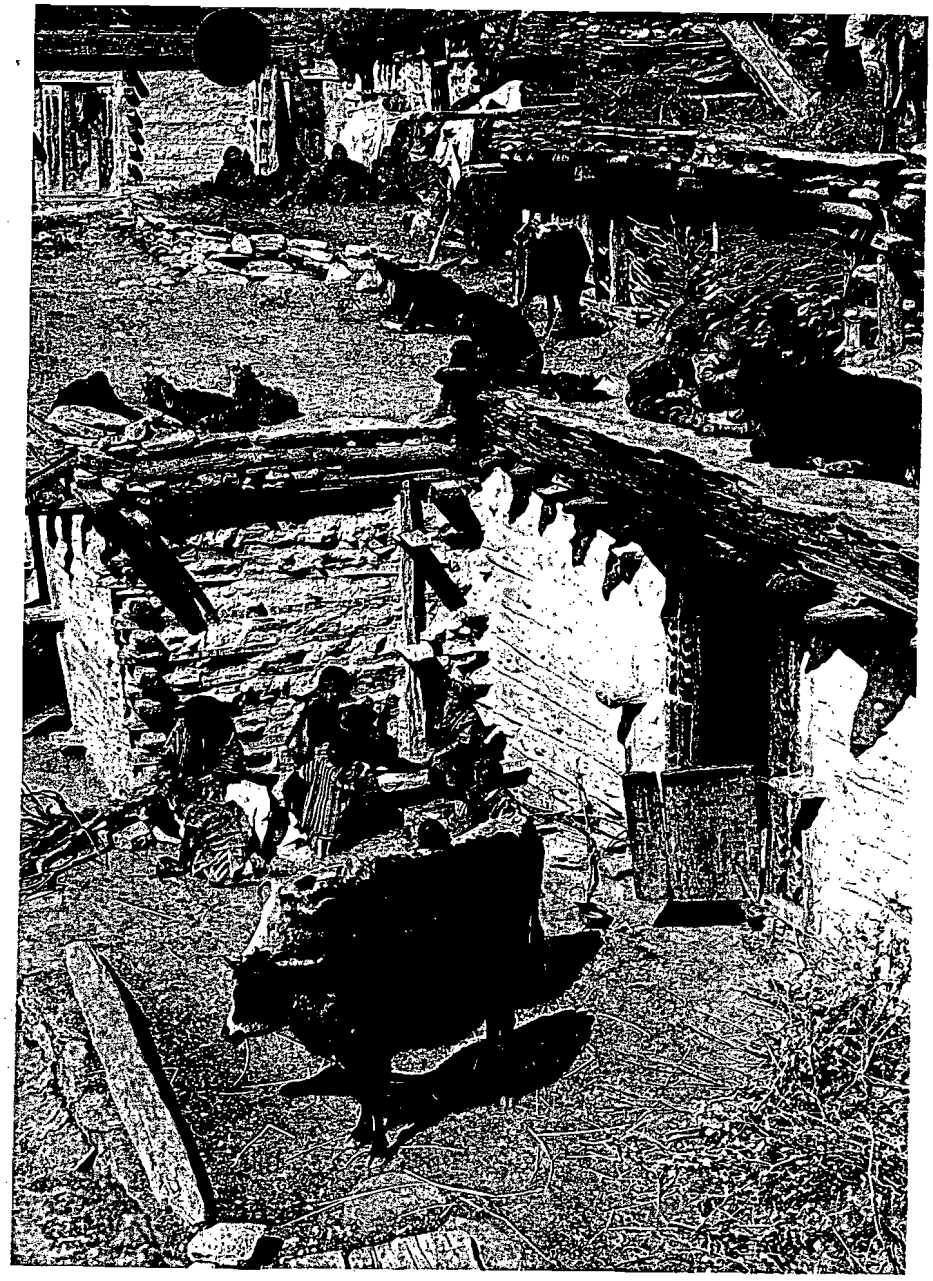
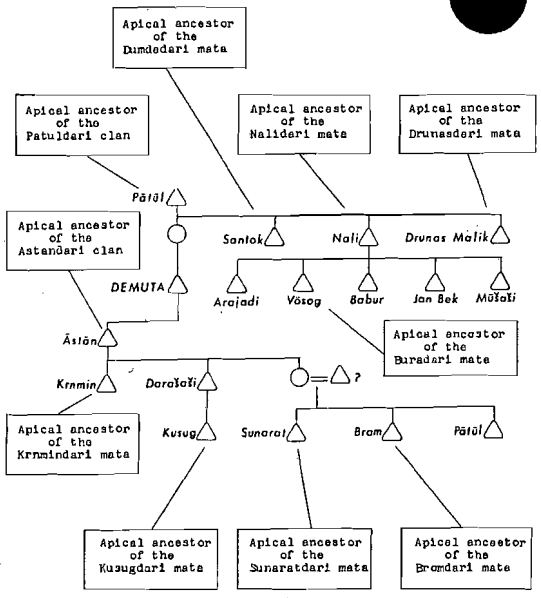


Fig. 62:
Aṇtala ṣiṇ, head and "entangled" horns of a goat surmounted by *ištar* (arrow quiver) bearing rank symbols.



mata = *lineage*

The genealogical knowledge of *bāri* and *šewaḷa* peoples appears to be much less extensive; it sometimes proved difficult to get more than four or five generations of a craftsman's ancestors. An exception was Wakil Abdullah of Keshtagrom.

"My family have been blacksmiths since ancient times. My people are called Kalandu. Gana came from the sky. He was found in a spring. He had a hammer and tongs. A woman went to the spring and found him there. She took him to the village. He was known as Chemikara ['iron-worker']. Since that time all my people have been blacksmiths and silversmiths. The father of Chemikara lived in the sky. He dropped his hammer and tongs one day and sent his son down to Earth to fetch them. The boy found them, but then fell into a spring where the woman found him" (S.J. field notes, 10 August, 1966, Keshtagrom, Nechingal).

142 *Waigal Village, Berimdesh, March, 1968.* On a sunny day in late Winter women, children, goats and cattle, all gather on the rooftops to rest, gossip, and play.—Photo: S.J.

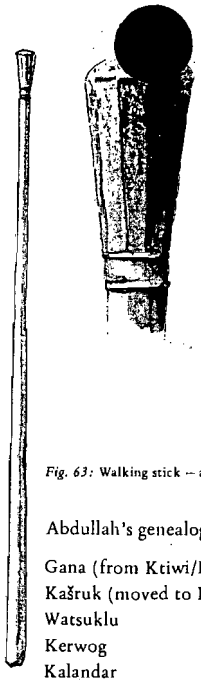


Fig. 63: Walking stick – a status symbol.

The earliest known published example of poetry from the Ashkūn cultural area. (Fazl Haq and Nurulla 1865 and 1878):

"The following is one of their most common songs. A father in the village of Shino is supposed to have sold his son to the Mohammedans: when the boy was grown, he kills fourteen Mussulmen and effects his escape to his home, and the mother in proud delight sings as follows: –

"Parolé bélé bató warméláwe
Badal lowe bele amá bato lausousáwe
Urá pras sagor aman bato warmiláwe
Awár paras dandako partus tatakotáwe
Pa sheristán gangare sutá."

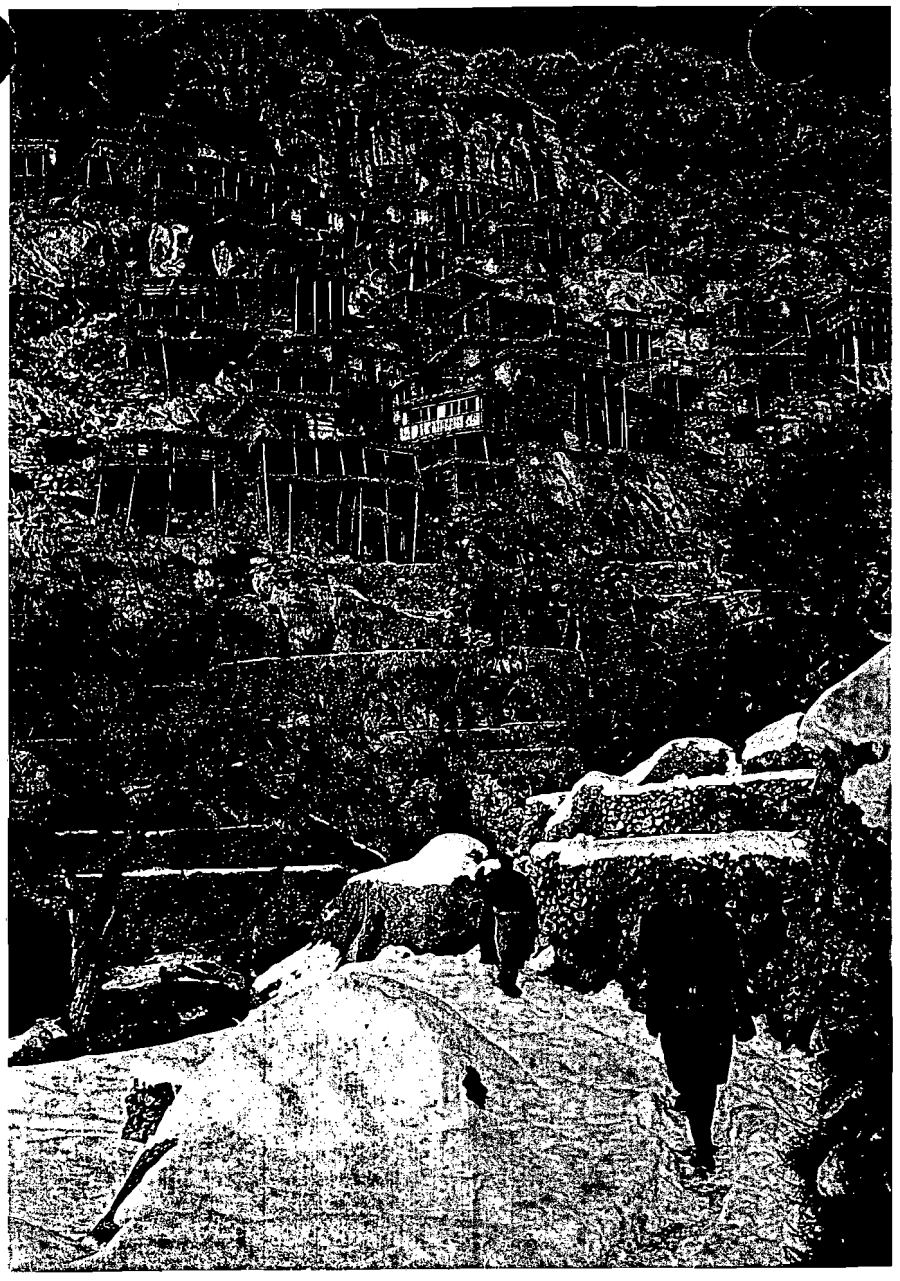
"Well done, my lad! well hast thou fought;
My old blood was drying up for grief for thee,
When thy father sold my high-spirited boy.
And thou hast killed fourteen men, and come home again,
With the bells tinkling on thy feet."

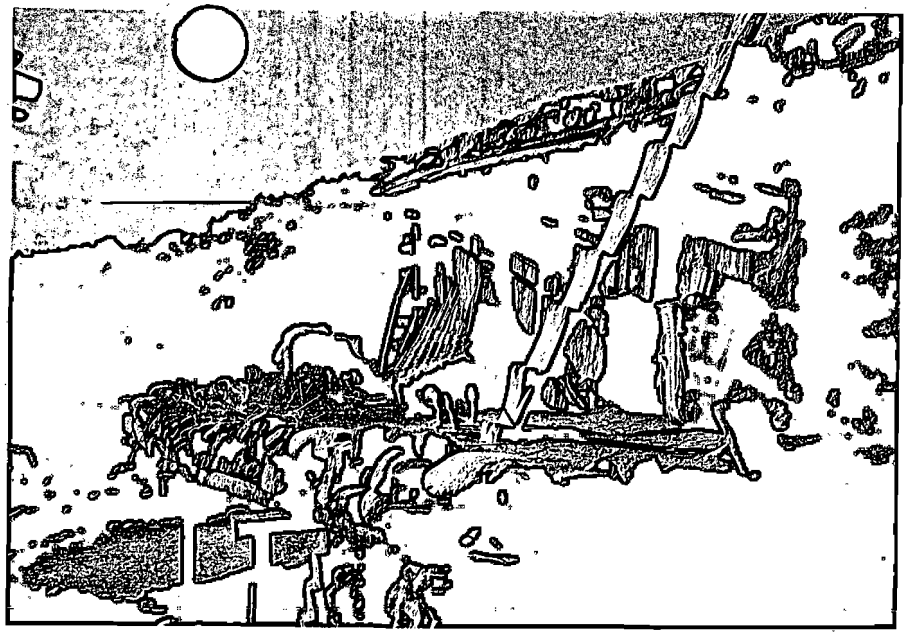
Abdullah's genealogy is as follows:

Gana (from Ktiwi/Kantiwo)
Kašruk (moved to Keshtagrom)
Watsuklu
Kerwog
Kalandar
Buyu
Kašruk
Kerwog
Badil
Buyu
Kalendar (settled in Kamdesh, died before conversion.)
Kamruk (died about 1902.)
Abdullah (settled in Keshtagrom, died 1971.)

In the course of time Abdullah had five wives–the last three were Sahira, Gul Bibi, and Fatima. They bore him 36 children. 31 of them Abdullah had carried to their graves; "Then I could hardly stand it any longer", Abdullah said. Sahira alone bore 13 children, but they all died, some of them at an age of 8–10 years.

143 *Nakara, Ashkun area, 5 January, 1961.* This photograph was taken on the occasion of the first visit of a European to this village. The only previously recorded visit by outsiders was that of Fazl Haq and Nurulla, two Pathans converted to Christianity, who made their way to this village in 1864 and witnessed a massacre of Muslims by Kafir warriors (Fazl Haq and Nurulla 1865 and 1878).–Photo: S.J.





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147

Abdullah's five surviving sons are:
Habibullah, Abdul Bazir, Sar Boz Khan, Abdul Khalil, and Abdul Ghafur.
Abdullah's autobiography was tape recorded in 1964 and 1970.

Abdullah's grandfather Kalandar, although a *bāri,* gave a feast of merit in Keshtagrom and after that used to wear a golden ring in his ear. He later moved to Kamdesh and settled there. In Kamdesh he gave a feast of merit, too, and put a golden ring in his other ear. He died before conversion as a Kafir. His son Kamruk converted to Islam and changed his name to Lal Mohammad Khan. Abdullah, soon after the death of his father, went abroad to India and elsewhere, returning to Nuristan about the time of King Amanullah's accession to the throne. Some years later he moved back to his grandfather's village, Keshtagrom.

DIE MUSIK NURISTANS (BY THOMAS ALVAD)

Die Musikkultur Nuristans ist ohne Zweifel etwas Eigenartiges, sowohl was die Musikinstrumente als die Musik betrifft.

Aber leider ist unser Wissen über diese Kultur etwas lückenhaft (siehe jedoch Lentz 1937b, Gruenberg 1969 (über Musik aus Kati), Sommavilla 1968 und Pressl 1976), teils wegen der schwer zugänglichen nuristanischen Sprachen, teils weil die vielen Tonbandaufnahmen, die wir von dieser Musik besitzen, bei weitem nicht ausgewertet sind.

Was die Musikinstrumente betrifft, kennen wir ohne Zweifel die meisten von ihnen und können auch etwas von ihrem Gebrauch sagen. Es gibt in Nuristan 3 Gattungen von Instrumenten: Flöten, Trommeln und Saiteninstrumente (gezupft und gestrichen).

Die Flöten mit 2 Grifflöchern und ohne Daumenloch, in Parun *išpũ,* in Muldesh *išpo* (?), in Zhönchigal (Arranz) *šprõ* und in Wama *ulu* genannt, sind wohl die am meisten verbreiteten. Sie treten immer paarweise auf, von 2 Männern gespielt und von verschiedenen Trommeltypen (s.d.) begleitet.

Eine Flöte mit 3 Grifflöchern, die während der heidnischen Zeit gespielt wurde, wird aus Kushteki genannt. Sie wurde angeblich im Tempel gespielt, und ihr Name war *imjič-išpũ.*

Aus Wama wird eine Flöte mit 5 Grifflöchern genannt (ohne Daumenloch?) und aus Keshtagrom (Kushtoz) eine Flöte mit 5 Grifflöchern ohne Daumenloch *(špõ;* Gruenberg 1969: 52 *špa),* die jedenfalls von Hirten gespielt wird.

Endlich kennen wir aus Kurdar eine Flöte mit 5 Grifflöchern und einem Daumenloch, *panũ* genannt, die mit Trommelbegleitung als Paar wie die *išpo* zum Tanz gespielt wird.

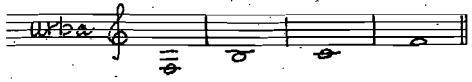
146 *Malil, Ashkun area, 31 December, 1960.* Goats on a verandah browse on evergreen oak leaves in the winter sunshine. When they have finished, the branches will be gathered for the evening fire. Note the baskets beneath the notched log ladder; unlike baskets made in the Bashgal Valley (picture 86 and 92) these are of split cane.—Photo: S.J.

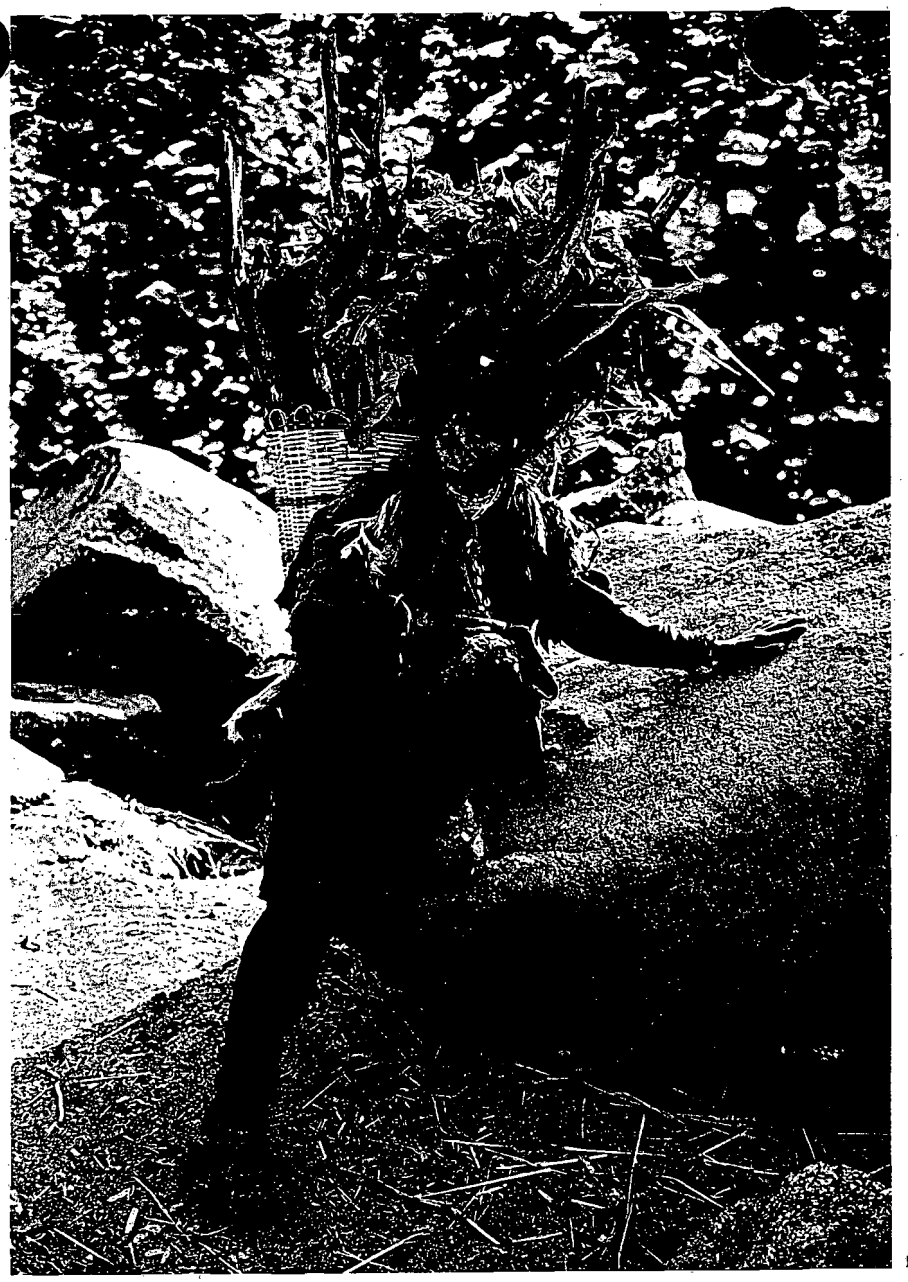
147 *Machwa, Ashkun area, 1 January, 1961.* Maize stalks, used for fodder, are carried to the winter stables by men. In the Ashkun area the farmers do not make separate buildings for the storage of hay (as, for example, is done in parts of the Waigal Valley)—instead, many houses have covered verandahs which are used for hay storage in Autumn and Winter.—Photo: S.J.

Die Flö[redacted] meistens aus Schilfrohr gemacht, die Grifflöcher sind alle im gleichen Abstand voneinander eingebrannt und sind ungefähr von derselben Größe. Die *išpo* haben eine Länge von etwa 36 bis 45 cm, die *panũ* von etwa 25 cm. Alle Flöten sind schräg gehaltene Längsflöten, deren Ansatzkante scharf zugeschnittten ist.

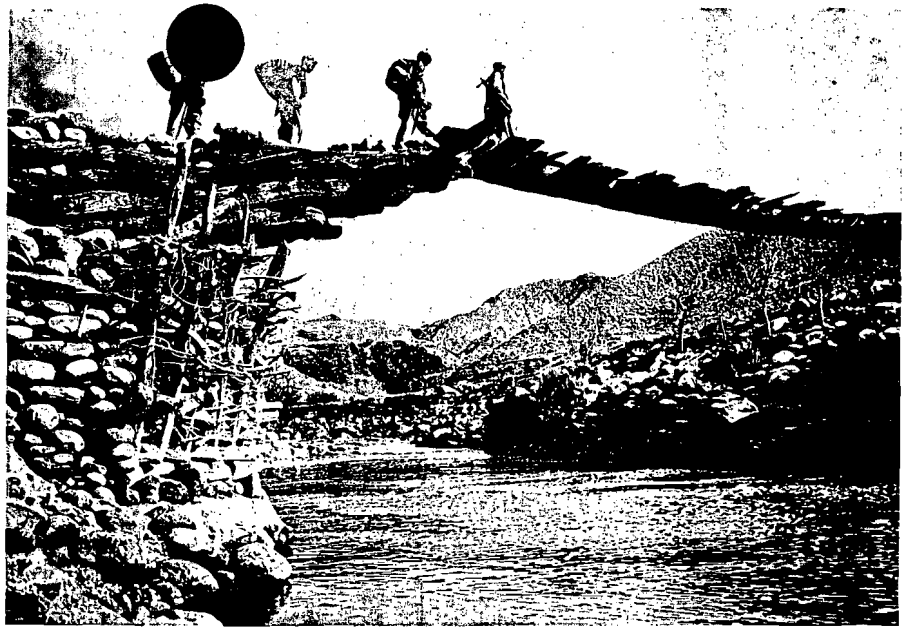
Von Schlaginstrumenten gibt es die verbreitete Rahmentrommel, in Muldesh, Wama und Kurdar *dab*, in Zhönchigal, Waigal und Keshtagrom *bambuk* genannt, in mehreren Größen, die sowohl Vokalmusik als Instrumentalmusik begleiten kann. Aus Wama, Zhönchigal und Shtiwe kennen wir die Zylindertrommel mit doppeltem Fell *(dād)*, die sowohl mit einem Stock als mit der Hand geschlagen wird, und die als Begleitung des obengenannten Flötenpaares auftritt. Dabei spielt sie in Zhönchigal oft mit einer konusförmigen Doppeltrommel aus Metall *(timki)* zusammen. Eine Pauke kennen wir aus Muldesh, die aus Metall gemacht war. Auch aus Wama kennen wir ein Paukeninstrument, dort *timiki* genannt, vielleicht bedeutet der Name nur "kleine Trommel". (Siehe Abb. in Lentz 1937b: 283). In Wama spielt die *timiki* zusammen mit *dād* und Flötenpaar *(ulu,* s.d.).

Aus Kurdar gibt es eine Aufnahme mit einer selten vorkommenden Stundenglastrommel *(malũ;*—Ash: *muṇ'ḍu,* doubledrum cf.Kt: *mə'ṇī;* Pr: *mű'j̈ű* (Morgenstierne 1934: 99);—Kt: *mni* (Gruenberg 1969: 52);—"The drums did not exceed four inches in the diameter of the heads, and were contracted in the middle like hour-glasses" (Robertson 1896: 222)). Diese Stundenglastrommel spielt in Kurdar mit 2 Flöten *(panũ)* und Rahmentrommel zusammen (siehe auch Lentz 1937b: 284).

In Aufnahmen aus Pashki und Shtiwe tritt eine 4-saitige Kurzlaute auf, *urb'ā* genannt (siehe Bild 121), die wir auch aus Wama kennen unter dem Namen *wanz* (siehe unten die Besprechung der Harfe (Wg: *waj, wadž;* Ash: *wanz*). Sie war schon in der heidnischen Zeit bekannt, es wird von ihr berichtet, daß sie im Tempel gespielt wurde, und das Instrument wird bei Robertson erwähnt (1896: 629). Die *urb'ā* wird mit einem Plektrum gezupft und meistens als Begleitung zum Gesang gebraucht. Sie ist aus einem Stück Holz geschnitten, und über den Resonanzkörper ist ein Fell mit Löchern gespannt, das mit Schnüren am Körper befestigt ist. Das Instrument hat eine Länge von etwa 70 cm. Wir kennen die Stimmung einer *urb'ā* aus Shtiwe, ein alter Nuristaner hat das Instrument gestimmt, und die Stimmung *ačüi-čönk* genannt:

Das eigentümlichste Instrument Nuristans ist wohl das 4-saitige Harfeninstrument, das in Zhönchigal und Waigal *waǰ* oder *wadž*, in Wama *wanz* genannt wird (siehe Bild 42 und 76). In Parun kennt man das Instrument unter dem Namen *aw'og* (Morgenstierne 1949: 253 *aw'əgə,* song), aber es wird anscheinend nicht mehr dort gespielt. Wir besitzen jedoch ein 5-saitiges Instrument aus Dewa (siehe auch Bild 25. Betreffend eine 6-saitige Harfe aus Kantiwo (Ktiwi) siehe Dupree 1973 und Jardow-Pedersen 1976).



148 *Machwa, Ashkun area, 2 January, 1961.* A heavy load of firewood is carried down to the village—a daily task throughout the winter, weather permitting. This woman wears a goatskin jacket, goatskin leggings, and crocheted goat hair socks with leather soles. Like many Nuristani women, she has a cowrie shell necklace.—Photo: S.J.



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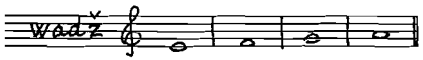
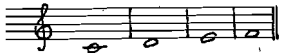
Die Harfe besteht aus einem länglichen Resonanzkörper, in der Mitte eingeengt (etwa wie eine Violine). Über den Körper ist ein Fell mit Löchern gespannt und mit Lederschnüren befestigt. Durch das Fell ist ein gebogener Rundstock gesteckt, woran die Saiten befestigt sind. Die Saiten werden mit Schnüren gestimmt. Das Instrument wird mit einem Plektrum gespielt, und die Saiten, die nicht erklingen dürfen, werden mit den Fingern gedämpft. Die vier Saiten werden so:

oder so gestimmt:

Als Instrumententyp ist diese Harfe ohne Zweifel sehr alt. Ähnliche Instrumente sind in altindischen und sumerischen bildlichen Darstellungen zu finden (Edelberg 1952: 106–108; Alvad und Edelberg 1953: 34–44; Alvad 1954: 151–154).

Es scheint, daß das Instrument meistens als Begleitung zum Gesang verwendet wird, aber auch als Soloinstrument und im Zusammenspiel mit der nuristanischen Geige, der *saringi* (oder *saraṇi*), wird es benutzt. Aus Kushteki haben wir die Auskunft, daß die Harfe in der heidnischen Zeit im Tempel zusammen mit *urb'ā*, Flöte und *dād* gespielt wurde.

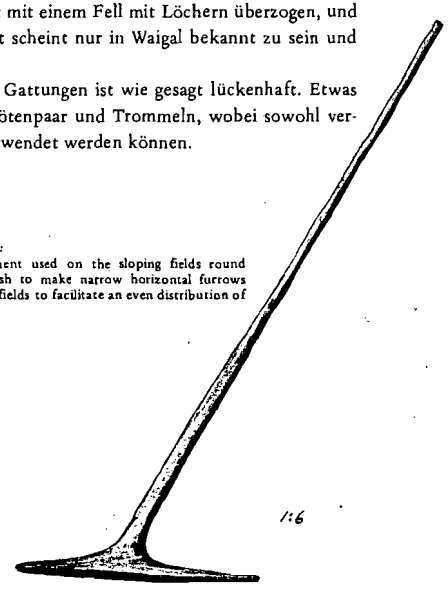
Aus Waigal haben wir Aufnahmen mit der obengenannten nuristanischen Geige, der *saringi*. Sie ist ein etwas klobiges 2-saitiges Instrument, mit einer Länge von etwa 70 cm, Breite etwa 8 cm, und sie ist aus einem Stück Holz geschnitten. Der Resonanzkörper ist mit einem Fell mit Löchern überzogen, und der Bogen ist mit Pferdehaaren versehen. Das Instrument scheint nur in Waigal bekannt zu sein und spielt immer mit der *waǰ* zusammen (siehe Bild 76).

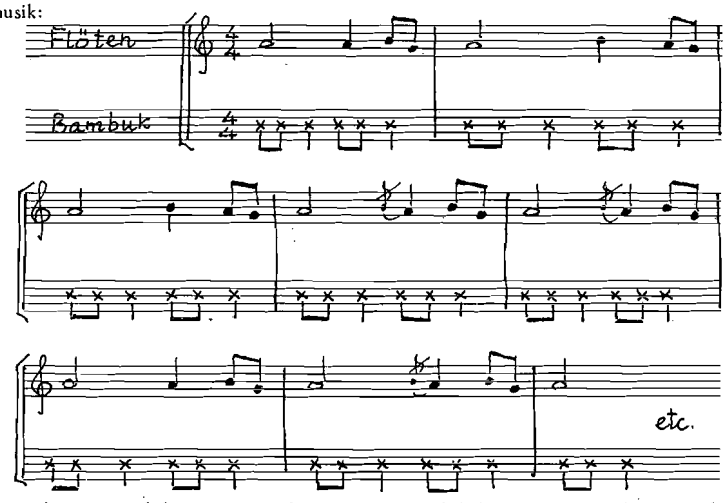
Unser Wissen von der Musik und den musikalischen Gattungen ist wie gesagt lückenhaft. Etwas können wir jedoch erkennen, z.B. die Tanzmusik mit Flötenpaar und Trommeln, wobei sowohl verschiedene Flötentypen als verschiedene Trommeltypen verwendet werden können.

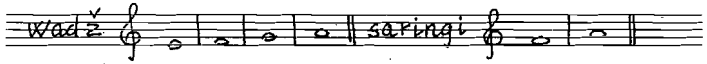
149 *Alingar River, Ashkun area, 29 December, 1960.* Nuristani bridge-building techniques make use of the cantilever principle in order to span rivers. Streams are bridged by logs or crossed by hopping from one stone to another, but a permanent way across rivers that may rise several feet in the Spring floods and the Summer monsoon rains requires a different technique. This has been solved by constructing large stone foundations on either bank to provide a platform for a series of heavy timbers to be projected out from both sides until the remaining gap can be spanned with the logs available.–Photo: S.J.

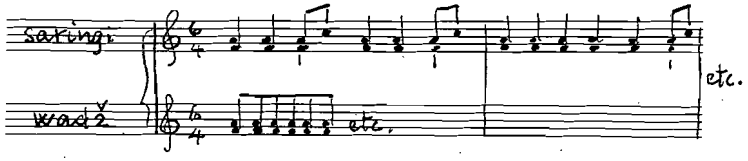
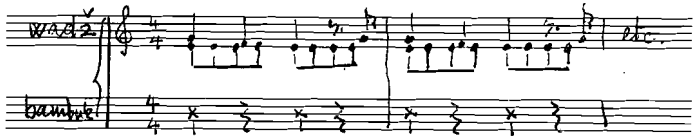
150 *Near Bajistul between Keshtagrom and Kamdesh, Nechingal Valley, 30 January, 1949.* Boys–some of them completely naked except for a cap–play a kind of hockey in the snow.–Photo: L.E.

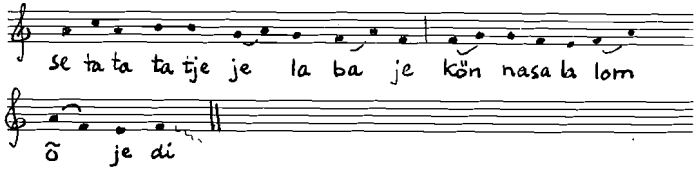
Fig. 64:
Implement used on the sloping fields round Kamdesh to make narrow horizontal furrows across fields to facilitate an even distribution of water.



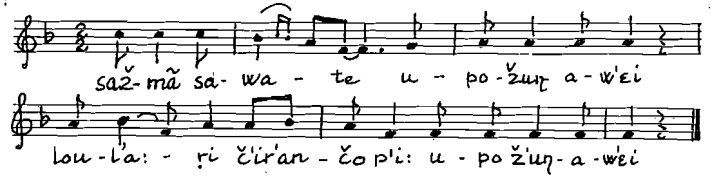
Diese Tanzmusik ist sehr einfach. Ein kurzes, meist 3-töniges Motiv mit einem Umfang einer großen oder kleinen Terz (Terzrahmen), wird mit kleinen Veränderungen ständig wiederholt. Beide Flöten spielen die Melodie, was zu kleinen Zusammenstößen führen kann, weil die beiden Spieler nicht immer genau dieselben Töne spielen (Heterophonie). Die Intonation kann auch ein wenig schwankend sein, vermutlich weil die Grifflöcher der Flöte dieselbe Größe haben. Der Rhythmus sowohl der Flötenmelodie als der Trommelbegleitung ist einfach und bewegt sich meistens im geraden Takt. Das Beispiel ist aus Shtiwe und wird nach den beteiligten Instrumenten *dād-išpū-nāt* genannt, *nāt* bedeutet Tanz oder Tanzmusik:

Ein anderes Beispiel des instrumentalen Zusammenspiels haben wir aus Waigal. Hier spielen *wadž* und *saringi* zusammen, weshalb sie auch miteinander abgestimmt sind:

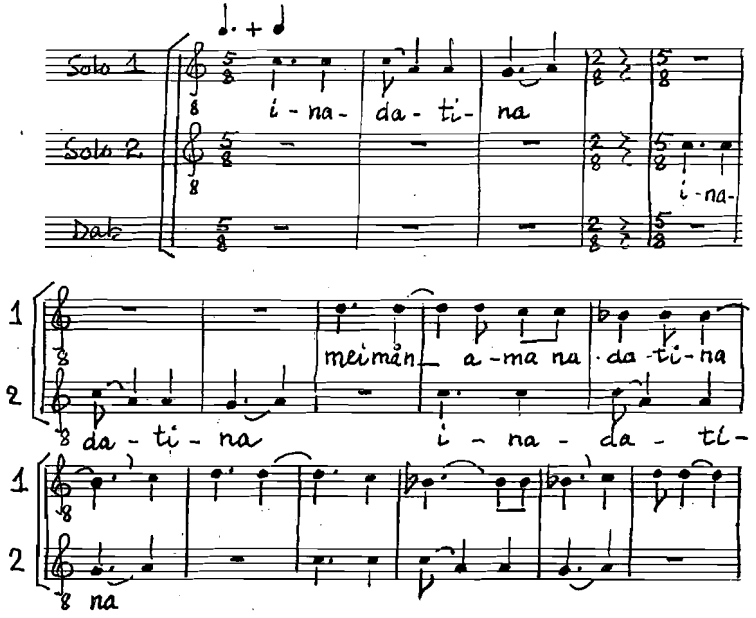
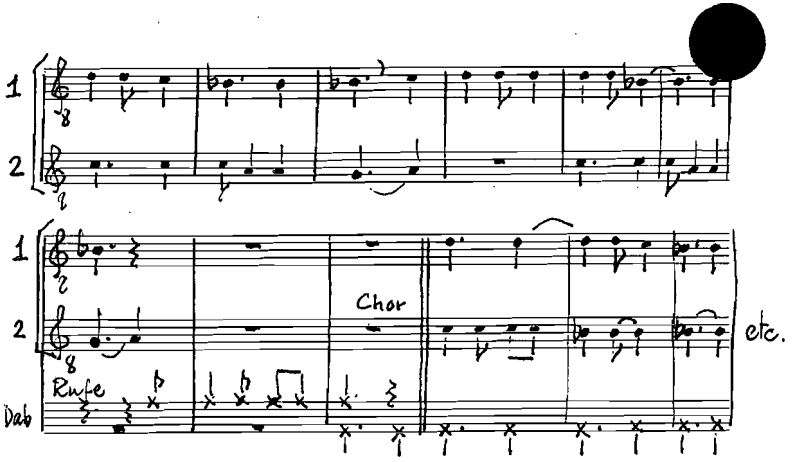


Vielleicht handelt es sich bei dieser Musik auch um Tanzmusik. Wir haben jedenfalls die Namen von zwei der aufgenommenen Stücke, worin die Bezeichnung *nāt* auftritt: *astā-nāt* und *indrā-ji-drepo-nāt*. Die letzte Bezeichnung worin der Name des Gottes Indra vorkommt, deutet vermutlich darauf, daß es sich hier um Tempeltänze aus der heidnischen Zeit handelt. Auch diese Stücke bestehen aus kurzen Motiven von 2–3 Tönen. Aber darüber hinaus zeigen sie einfache Zusammenklänge, im folgenden Beispiel einen Durdreiklang:

Während die *saringi* allem Anschein nach niemals solo gespielt wird, haben wir aus Zhönchigal Stücke, wo die *wadž* solo mit einem *bambuk* spielt. Wieder erkennen wir das Wiederholen eines kurzen Motivs, der tiefe Ton des Instruments wird als Bordun gebraucht:

Aus Zhönchigal haben wir zwei Musiktypen, wo *wadž* zusammen mit Vokalstimmen und Trommel gespielt wird. Der eine Typus wird *wadž-alōl* genannt, und vielleicht ist ihr Merkmal die Besetzung: Vokalsolo, Vokalchor, *wadž* und *bambuk*. Der Solist wiederholt ein kurzes Motiv, der Chor singt ein kurzes Ostinato dazu, und die *wadž* dient als klanglicher Hintergrund. Das Ganze bildet so eine Art von Mehrstimmigkeit, wo die selbständige Stimmenführung scharfe klangliche Zusammenstöße mit sich führt, auch die *wadž*-Begleitung benutzt anscheinend dissonante Klänge.

Der andere Typus heißt *prōki-wadž-alōl (alōl:* Gesang), und vielleicht bedeutet *prōki* "allein". Es müßte sich also um Sologesang mit *wadž* handeln, und wir haben Aufnahmen mit sowohl einer als auch zwei Solostimmen. Das am meisten Charakteristische dieses Typus ist jedoch die leise, murmelnde Stimme, womit er gesungen wird. Während es sich bei *wadž-alōl* wahrscheinlich um Tanzmusik handelt, sind *prōki-wadž-alōl* rezitativähnliche Gesänge, wo der Rhythmus vielleicht vom Wort bestimmt wird. Hier ein Beispiel von einer Melodie, die möglicherweise ein *prōki-wadž-alōl* ist. Der Gesang wurde jedoch ohne *wadž* gesungen der Deutlichkeit wegen:

Die Melodie hat hier einen größeren Umfang und ist bedeutend länger als die kurzen Motive, die wir früher kennenlernten. Sie bewegt sich innerhalb eines Quintenrahmens, und tonal hat sie eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit der lydischen Kirchentonart. Der Rhythmus ist ganz frei.

Aus Shtiwe haben wir ein paar Gesänge mit *urb'ā*-Begleitung, die in derselben Weise wie *prōki-wadž-alōl* gesungen werden, vielleicht handelt es sich hier um alte Tempelgesänge.

Ein zweifellos altes Lied haben wir aus Pronz, das nach Angabe eigentlich von *urb'ā* und Flöten begleitet werden müßte. Es zeichnet sich aus durch sein deutliches Durgepräge und seinen symmetrischen Aufbau:

Einen bes[redacted]n Typus finden wir in Muldesh. Seine Merkmale sind die Besetzung, zwei Solisten, Chor und Rahmentrommel, *dab*, seine besondere Art von "Polyphonie" und seinen sogenannten Aksakrhythmus, der darin besteht, daß die Taktschläge von ungleicher Länge sind. Die Polyphonie entsteht dadurch, daß der erste Solist ein Motiv singt, das von dem anderen Solisten aufgenommen wird und es als Ostinato benutzt, während der erste Solist ein neues Motiv singt; Rufe verkünden den neuen Abschnitt, wo der Chor ein drittes Motiv als Ostinato anstimmt, der erste Solist mit dem zweiten Motiv fortfährt und die *dab* mit den Taktschlägen des Aksakrhythmus anfängt.

Was die tonalen Verhältnisse betrifft, klingt das erste Motiv pentatonisch, das zweite ist dreitönig im Terzrahmen und wirkt wie eine neue tonale Schicht, das dritte Motiv schließlich befindet sich in dem tonalen Rahmen des zweiten Motivs. Der Anfang klingt also bitonal. Dadurch und durch die melodische und rhythmische Selbständigkeit der Stimmen entstehen die für diesen Typus charakteristischen klanglichen Härten. Der straffe Trommelrhythmus, die kurzen Motive und die Dreitönigkeit deuten an, daß es sich um Tanzmusik handelt. Dieser Typus ist zweifellos mit dem *wadž-alōl* verwandt, und auch aus Kurdar kennen wir ähnliche Gesänge.

IX. THE FORESTS AND THE FUTURE

"Der Monsun kommt vom Indischen Ozean her und weht in nördlicher Richtung durch das Tal des Indus herauf und er überspringt die Ebenen des südlichen Pakistan, die Sindwüste besonders, und seine Feuchtigkeit kondensiert sich erst an den Hängen des Himalaya und des Hindukusch, deren Hauptkämme eine sehr scharfe Scheidelinie bilden, die von den sommerlichen Regenwolken nicht überschritten wird, nördlich welcher aber auch keine Wälder mehr angetroffen werden. Der Verfasser hat noch das eindrucksvolle Erlebnis in klarer Erinnerung und es wird wohl unvergeßlich bleiben, als er zu Anfang September 1949 Nordost-Afghanistan, die Provinz Badakhschan, bereiste und einmal in dem Bezirksstädtchen Faizabad nächtigte. Am Himmel in südlicher Richtung standen dichte dunkle Wolken über den Gebirgen des südlichen Mindschan und den Hindukuschbergen Nuristans, unentwegt zuckten die Blitze, doch der Donner war nicht mehr zu hören, und es fiel auch kein Tropfen Regen aus dem sternklaren Himmel über dem Koktschatale und dessen Hauptort Faizabad." (Neubauer 1954: 494–495)

It can scarcely be overemphasized that the climatic conditions found in Nuristan and the Gardez area are unique in Afghanistan as a whole. As a result of these conditions, the forest areas are also unique in the country.

The Nuristani are forest people. Their whole economic life has, for countless generations, depended on the forest. It is not unreasonable to assume that whatever happens to the forest will have a profound effect on their lives.

In Robertson's time (1889–90) the forests seem to have been extensive and fruitful, with an abundant wildlife. Ibex and markhor, bears and leopards were numerous. Vavilov was, as far as we know, the first to warn that the forests of Nuristan were under threat (Vavilov and Bukinich 1929). He pointed out that the forest wealth will be lost forever if serious steps to regulate its use are not taken.

Ten years after Vavilov's journey, Kerstan wrote of 'unverantwortliche Waldverwüstung' and saw how "Diese öden Stellen werden dann meist von verarmten Artemisia-Gesellschaften eingenommen" (D.i.H. 1937: 162–63).

In 1948 we noticed that a coniferous forest, when seen from a distance, appeared to be green and healthy, but a closer inspection revealed that up to 60% or more of the big trees—most of them probably more than 100 years old—were severely damaged by fire (see pictures 23 and 154).

At that time very little of the total environment's organic matter was being channelled into the human productivity system. The amount of land devoted to arable was very small in comparison with the forest area. The bulk of organic matter from the forest area that was channelled into the productive system came—and still comes—from the leaves and branches of the evergreen oaks and from man-made pastures in the coniferous belt. (It is not always clear whether such grazing areas are the result of deliberate clearing for the purpose of increasing pasturage, or whether the extra grazing is a by-product of accidental forest destruction or, indeed, the deliberate removal of trees for some other purpose). The careless handling of fire has, up to the present time, probably always been the main threat to the forests of Nuristan.

The older Nuristani know that the valuable summer rain can turn out to be a major [illegible] to their soil resources if the forest cover is not maintained. Field surfaces are deliberately kept covered with vegetation (crops or weeds) through the entire summer monsoon period. And certain men in each village are given the responsibility of controlling the cutting of evergreen oak branches to prevent overexploitation. But apparently fines are not levied on the person who leaves a fire unattended in the forest, nor are certain areas of the forest 'off limits' to grazing livestock so that young trees may be protected from the goats.

Together with the danger to the forest caused by animal husbandry practices (which is aggravated by the seasonal invasion of Gujurs) goes the danger of clearing the forest in order to extend arable holdings.

Fischer (1970: 109–110) writes:

"Der stärkste Eingriff des Menschen in das natürliche Pflanzenkleid stellt die Waldrodung zur Erweiterung des Kulturlandes dar. Sofern diese neugeschaffenen Felder durch Bewässerung dem Dauerfeldbau eingegliedert werden können, erhöhen sie die vom Menschen erstrebte Bodenfruchtbarkeit beträchtlich.

"Vielerorts mußte jedoch dieses Rodungsland dem Trockenfeldbau und der extensiven Beweidung überlassen werden. Das Waldland wurde hier und wird auch weiterhin langsam in die Steppe und diese wie auch die von Natur aus von Steppen eingenommenen Gebiete in die sogenannte "Wirtschaftssteppe" umgewandelt. Der Ausbreitung der Steppe geht also auch eine Steppenvernichtung einher, deren Hauptursache vielerorts die Beweidung oder die Überweidung darstellt. Diese begünstigt das Wachstum der weideresistenteren Steppenpflanzen, zu denen ganz besonders bestimmte Artemisien- und Dornpolsterarten gehören. Auffallend einförmig bedecken diese im Sommer sogar von der Ziege verschmähten Kräuterfluren sowohl die weiten, höher gelegenen Beckenlandschaften in Nachbarschaft des Waldes, soweit sie nicht von Ackerland eingenommen sind, als auch die junggeschaffenen Lichtungen entlang der Wasserläufe in Siedlungsnähe. Der Weidegang zerstört nicht nur die Vegetation in den unteren Verbreitungszonen des Waldes und der Steppe, sondern auch in den Hochlagen. Die ehemals sicher artenreicher und dichter vergesellschafteten Gras- und Kräuterfluren der Hochweiden, besonders im Hindukusch, wurden gebietsweise wohl erst im Laufe der letzten Jahrhunderte oder Jahrzehnte in einförmige trockene Triften umgewandelt.

"Diese Verarmung und Vernichtung der Vegetation trifft auch die wildlebende Tierwelt. Durch die verschlechterte Futtergrundlage fallen bestimmte Tierarten bevorzugt in das Kulturland ein. Ein besonderes Problem stellen hierbei die zur Monsunzeit im Becken von Khost und Yaqubi auftretenden Heuschreckenschwärme dar. Die verstärkten Nachstellungen des Menschen gegenüber den größeren Säugetieren haben in jüngster Zeit den Rückgang der Individuen und der Arten zweifellos beschleunigt." (See also Strand 1975: 133).

Crop damage by both locusts and monkeys have also been noted in the Bashgal and Waigal Valleys (Jones 1974: 38 and p. 59).

Whatever threats these circumstances may pose to the future of Nuristani forests, they scarcely compare with the dangers involved in making the area more accessible by the construction of motor roads and the timber more vulnerable by the introduction of portable power saws. In discussing this problem one informant said, ". . . in the village there is a general tendency for the old people to be against the idea of having a road. The older people argue that the road will cause the forest to disappear.

The young pe[illegible], 'we don't care, we will open tea houses and shops. We will become drivers and mechanics.' " (Ghulam Nabi, Nisheigrom, 6 September, 1969. S. J. field notes).

Concerning this same problem, Rathjens has written: "Abgesehen von den hohen Kosten der Verkehrserschließung würde der kurzfristige Nutzen, der dabei für die Holzwirtschaft in Afghanistan und Pakistan und für einige paschtunische Unternehmer entstände, mit Sicherheit die Schäden nicht aufwiegen, die für die Landwirtschaft der Bewohner und für die Wasserwirtschaft im Becken von Jalalabad hervorgerufen würden. Vielmehr wäre es höchste Zeit, in Nuristan einige Waldschutzgebiete einzurichten" (Rathjens 1974b: 309).

If logs are exported from the area as squared timbers suitable for camel transport, 50% of the commercial value of timber is lost. Rathjens particularly warns against the destruction of the soil structure over large areas following deforestation; the next stage in the process being severe soil erosion.

It seems possible that within a few generations Afghanistan will be making such heavy demands on her resources that the hydro-electric potential of her monsoon-influenced Eastern regions (i.e., Nuristan) will be exploited. The Ramgal-Alingar drainage area is unlikely to be of interest in this connection as it lies at the Western edge of the summer monsoon. The Waigal drainage area receives a good deal of summer rain, but is probably too small. Hydro-electric development will no doubt concentrate on two areas: The Parun-Ktiwi-Pech valleys, and the Bashgal, both of which receive their water not only from the monsoon, but also from the heavy snow-falls along the main crest of the Hindu Kush. Sites for dams will probably be somewhere in the V-shaped valleys between Wama and Gusalak, and between Kamu and Barikot. The resulting man-made lakes would supply electricity and irrigation for the lower Pech and the upper Kunar valleys.

Nirmali.

1. Nyirm'älie be-dez'eli[1] paṭ'o[2]. 2. Imṙo nanw'āi[3] kəř'is. 3. Nanw'āi keti
Nirmali's at-birth pen. Imro ruling has-made-her. Ruling being-made

ǰü pitr pṙeli(ste) ase[4]. 4. Sta Mṙōře ǰi-kəřasi. 5. Be-dǐ Mṙōře meṣ
daughter(s) son(s) giving-she is. To-her Mror has-spoken-to-her. In-heaven Mror with

niři-tā wayase. 6. Be-dəz'eli paṭō ta nanw'āi as. 7. E go šom ptise, məṣ'ele
seat she-has At-birth pen—with ruling (she-)is. One cow sacrifice she-is-given, ram

šom pt'ise.
sacrifice she-is-given.

1. Nirmali has the command at the time of birth. 2. Imra has made her a ruler. 3. Having been made a ruler she bestows daughters and sons. 4. Mror spoke to her[5]. 5. She has her seat in Heaven with Mror. 6. She is ruling with her pen(?) at the time of birth. 7. A cow and a ram are given her as a sacrifice.

1 *Diz-* 'to create'.—Cf. Kalasha *Dēz'au* (Urtsun *Dez'al*) 'Creator', 'God' (= Kati *Imro*); *Dezālik* (= Kati *Nirm'ali*).
2 Psht. *paldā-kedūnkī waxta kalam* '(her) pen (rules) at the time of birth'.—*Paṭo* lit.: 'feather'. Poss. *kalam* = *qalam* 'pen' misunderstood for *kalam* 'word, command'?
3 Psht. *hukumdār*.
4 Psht. *war-kawunki de* 'is the giver of'.
5 Or: She had spoken to Mror(?).

(From Morgenstierne 1951: 175).

151

151 *Wama, Pech Valley, June, 1935.* This isolated building is a *šawaṛt-āmā*—birth and menstruation house. In pre-Muslim times all women of child-bearing age spent a few days each month living here and it was here that they came to give birth, attended by a mid-wife *(šawaṛti)*. Following the conversion to Islam (1895–1900) these houses were no longer used. Some were destroyed, others fell into disrepair. This one, near Wama in the Pech Valley, is believed to be the only surviving *šawaṛt-āma* in Nuristan.—Photo: Wolfgang Lentz.

But if such plans are ever made it would be well to consider, among other things, so[illegible]the points made during the *Man and the Biosphere Conference* held at Kathmandu in 1975. As a result of this conference it was concluded that "In India the average rate of sedimentation in reservoirs in recent years has been four times as high as expected. The time when these reservoirs will be of no further use is thus approaching." And in Nepal the problem of topsoil loss is so great that "Some experts have observed that . . . the topsoil being washed down into India and Bangladesh can at present be considered Nepal's most precious export, but in a doubly destructive manner, since it does no good to India and Bangladesh, only harm from increased siltation" (MAB report series No. 34, Final Report, UNESCO, 1977).

In other words, if Afghanistan wants to have a long-term benefit from the water energy of Nuristan, steps will have to be taken to preserve the forests and the soil of the area. If such measures are not taken, the man-made lakes will be quickly filled with silt. To be effective, all such plans and proposals will need the active cooperation of the people of Nuristan, for they know their country and its problems better than any outsiders.

The wealth of Nuristan, which depends to a large extent on summer monsoon rainfall, can easily be lost if not handled with care. "Noch wäre es Zeit, sie durch die Einführung einer geregelten Holzwirtschaft und die Einrichtung einzelner Schutzgebiete vor dem Ruin zu bewahren" (Rathjens 1969:13).

If uncontrolled exploitation of the forests gets underway—and there are unmistakeable signs that it has—"Dann könnte Afghanistan endgültig zu dem Lande der Steppen und Wüsten werden, als das es dem flüchtigen Reisenden schon heute erscheint und als das es in manchen Darstellungen schon beschrieben wird" (Rathjens 1969: 17).

152 *Nisheigrom, Waigal Valley, February, 1968.* Winter is the hunting season and, although hunting is not necessary as a supplement to the village economy, many men take part, for a good hunter is a man who commands respect. Indirectly, hunting does influence economic matters, for leopards take many goats every year and hunters always hope to be able to kill one. Other principal game hunted are bears and markhor.
The rock of *Diŋastûn* is visible in front of the village.—Photo: S.J.

153 *Nisheigrom, Waigal Valley, February, 1968.* A woman drives sheep from one winter stable to another. Behind her is the tomb of an important man, its wooden panels covered with symbols of rank.—Photo: S.J.

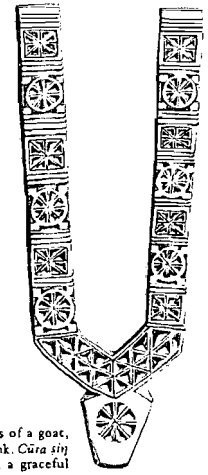


Fig. 65:
Cüra sin, the head and horns of a goat, decorated with symbols of rank. *Cüra sin* are horns that curve back in a graceful arc from the head.

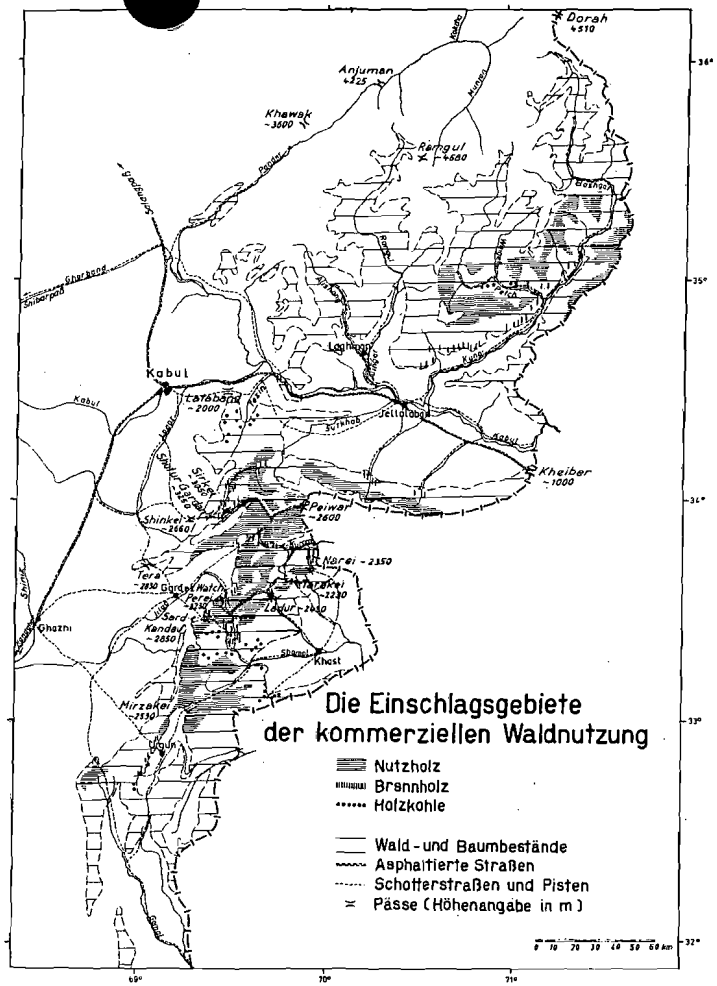
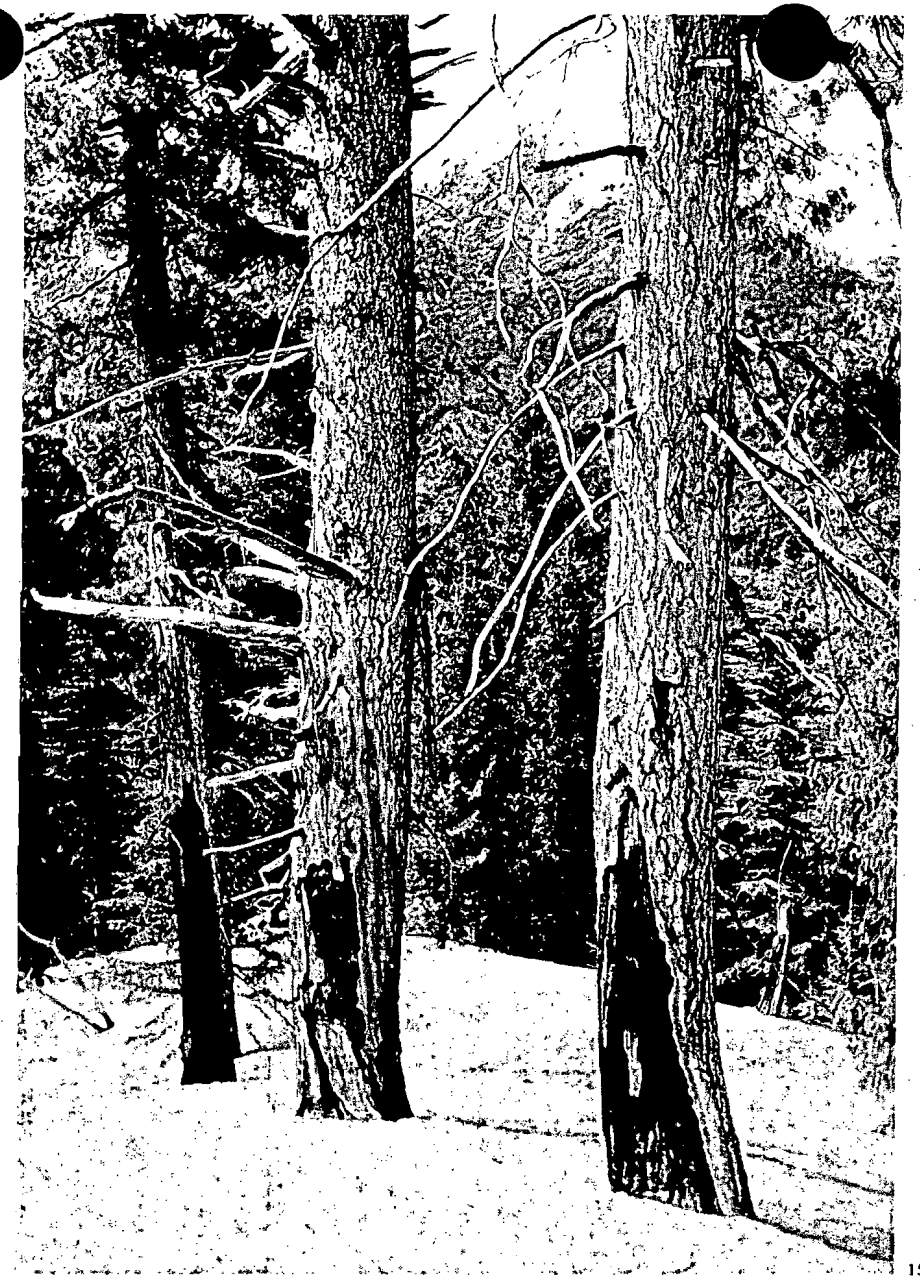
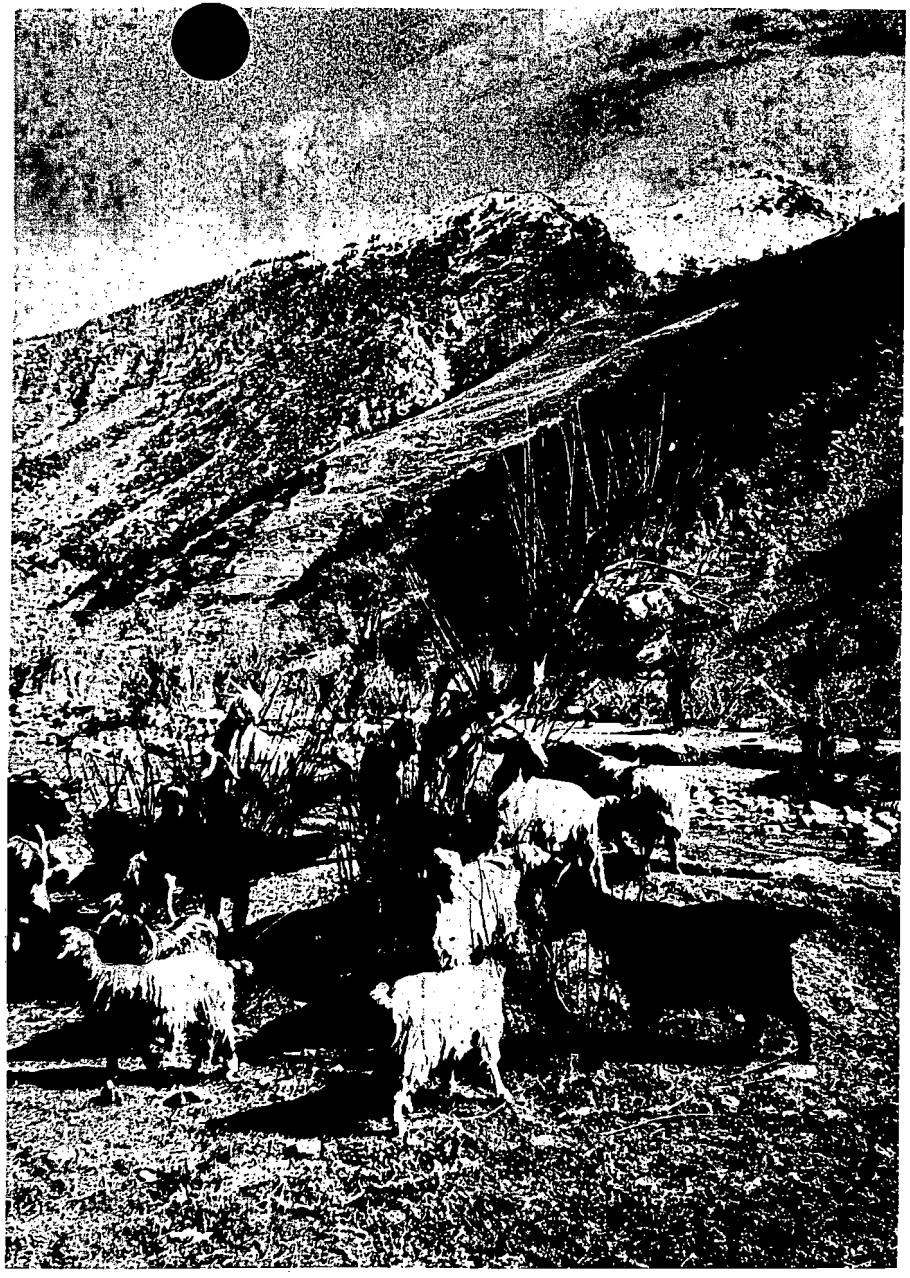


Fig. 66: Areas of commercial forest exploitation, from D. Fischer, 1970: 93.





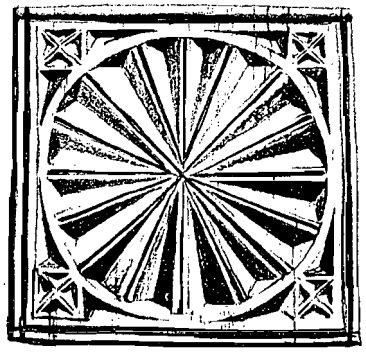
155

"The southern Asian mountain systems and in particular the Hindu Kush-Himalayas are world famous for their topographic characteristics. These areas include, in addition, a wealth of ecological diversity; some of them are not yet under improper and/or intensive use. A number of these undisturbed biotic habitats are so distinctive as to make their conservation and the conservation of their component species a matter of great importance. Further, reserves set aside would represent important geographical units for baseline studies. In order to measure change, benchmarks must be established by studies on the functioning and structure of ecosystems which have not been significantly disturbed or altered by man."—Man and the Biosphere, Report 34, p. 9, UNESCO, Paris, 1977.

154 *Wama, Pech Valley, 5 April, 1948.* Coniferous forests on the mountain slope opposite Wama towards the Aduri Pass. Following a bear's track on the day this picture was taken, we counted 100 trees *(Pinus wallichiana, Cedrus deodara, Picea smithiana, Abies spectabilis).* Only trees which were so big that a man could not reach round them were counted. Of these, sixty were burnt like those in the picture. Why? A carelessly left fire? A fire to frighten away bears? Clearing timber to make new pastures? These, and a few more explanations are given locally. But there are now even greater dangers threatening the beautiful and important forests of Nuristan.—Photo: L.E.

155 *Bragamatal, Bashgal Valley, March, 1967.* Goats are an extremely useful form of livestock. They give milk that can readily be made into cheese; their meat is good to eat; their hair can be made into yarn and cord for weaving or rope-making; their hides make useful leather; they can not only live but thrive on almost anything that grows. Because of all this, the people of Nuristan prefer goats; they are a form of security and give a good return —but, at a price. Because they will eat anything, goats are very hard on the environment, especially the young trees.—These goats are stripping willow trees in the upper Bashgal Valley.—Photo: S.J.

Fig. 67: Aŋtala ṣiŋ, head and "entangled" horns of a goat.



ITINERARIES

Survey of the routes followed in different parts of Nuristan by those who have contributed to this book:

Lennart Edelberg (accompanied by Mohammad Akbar* on every journey, except in 1970)

First Journey to Nuristan (usually accompanied by Knud Paludan).

Place	*Dates*			
Gusalak	22 Feb.	–	29 Feb.	1948
Kurdar	29 Feb.	–	2 March	1948
Gusalak	2 March	–	29 March	1948
Wama	30 March	–	29 April	1948
Gusalak	29 April	–	2 May	1948
Wama	2 May	–	6 May	1948
Pashki	7 May	–	21 May	1948
Ktiwi Valley	21 May	–	24 May	1948
Pashki	24 May	–	30 May	1948
Waigal	30 May	–	31 May	1948
Nisheigrom	1 June	–	2 June	1948
Pashki	3 June	–	15 June	1948
Shtiwe	15 June	–	18 June	1948
Keshtagrom	19 June	–	20 June	1948
Bagalgrom via Kamdesh	20 June	–	21 June	1948
Papruk	21 June	–	22 June	1948
Shtiwe	23 June	–	29 June	1948
Minjan, Jurm, Faizabad, Zebak, Sanglich, Minjan	29 June	–	22 July	1948
Shtiwe	22 July	–	23 July	1948
Pashki	23 July	–	29 July	1948
Gusalak	31 July			1948

Second Journey to Nuristan (accompanied by Mohammad Karim Nushin)

Place	*Dates*			
Barikot	27 Jan.			1949
Kamu	28 Jan.	–	29 Jan.	1949
Kamdesh	29 Jan.	–	30 Jan.	1949
Keshtagrom	30 Jan.	–	2 Feb.	1949
Kamdesh	2 Feb.	–	4. Feb.	1949
Bargam	5 Feb.			1949
Weligal	5 Feb.	–	6. Feb.	1949
Nishagam	6 Feb.			1949

* Akbar died in 1977.

Third Journey to Nuristan (accompanied by Mohammad Karim Nushin)

Place	*Dates*			
Nishagam	4 July			1949
Dungul	4 July	–	6 July	1949
Ülaisum area	6 July	–	9 July	1949
Dungul	9 July	–	10 July	1949
Ashpai	10 July	–	11 July	1949
Keshtagrom	11 July	–	14 July*	1949
Shtiwe	16 July*	–	18 July	1949
Kushteki	18 July	–	19 July	1949
Pashki	19 July	–	20 July*	1949
Waigal	22 July*	–	24 July	1949
Keshtagrom	26 July*	–	29 July*	1949
Gawardesh	30 July*			1949
Nishagam	31 July*			1949

Fourth Journey to Nuristan (accompanied by Ahmad Ali Motamedi, Klaus Ferdinand, and Peter Rasmussen)

Ningalam	20 September			1953
Muldesh	21 Sept.	–	23 Sept.	1953
Zhönchigal	23 Sept.	–	28 Sept.	1953
Waigal	28 Sept.	–	1 Oct.	1953
Keshtagrom, Kamdesh	3 Oct.	–	14 Oct.	1953
Shtiwe	17 Oct.*	–	21 Oct.	1953
Pronz	21 Oct.	–	22 Oct.	1953
Dewa	22 Oct.	–	24 Oct.	1953
Kushteki	24 Oct.	–	26 Oct.	1953
Pashki	26 Oct.	–	29 Oct.*	1953
Wama	31 Oct.*	–	2 Nov.*	1953
Kurdar	2 Nov.*	–	3 Nov.*	1953
Kandai	3 Nov.*			1953

Fifth Journey to Nuristan (accompanied by Mohammad Karim Nushin)

Ningalam	20 May			1954
Muldesh	20 May	–	21 May	1954
Zhönchigal	21 May	–	25 May	1954
Ameshdesh	25 May	–	26 May	1954
Pashki	27 May	–	28 May	1954
Pronz	28 May	–	31 May*	1954
Pashki	31 May*	–	1 June*	1954
Kandai	3 June*			1954

*approximately

Sixth Journey to Nuristan (up to Zhönchigal accompanied by Aziz Kakar and Pierre Centlivres; the whole journey accompanied by Margot and Susanne Edelberg)

Place	*Dates*		
Ningalam	9 July		1964
Want-Muldesh	10 July	– 13 July	1964
Zhönchigal	13 July	– 19 July	1964
Waigal	19 July	– 21 July	1964
Pashki	23 July	– 29 July	1964
Pronz	29 July	– 31 July	1964
Shtiwe	31 July	– 1 Aug.	1964
Keshtagrom	4 Aug.	– 9 Aug.	1964
Ürmür, Kamdesh	9 Aug.	– 10 Aug.	1964
Barikot	10 Aug.		1964

Seventh Journey to Nuristan (up to Keshtagrom accompanied by Abdullah Wakil; the whole journey accompanied by Margot and Miriam Edelberg and Ulf Timmermann)

Place	*Dates*		
Barikot	1 July		1970
Ürmür	1 July	– 2 July	1970
Keshtagrom	2 July	– 6 July	1970
Kashiragal	7 July	– 9 July	1970
Waigal	11 July	– 18 July	1970
Zhönchigal	18 July	– 20 July	1970
Want	20 July	– 21 July	1970
Ningalam	21 July		1970

Torkil Funder and *Greta Funder:* October–November 1970.

Barikot, Kamu, Keshtagrom, Kamdesh, Upper Bashgal, Shkorigul until Ptsigrom, Badawan, Barikot, Ningalam Muldesh, Chimi, Kegal, Ningalam.

Schuyler Jones, accompanied by Lis R. Jones and Peter R. Jones.

First Journey: *Bashgal Valley*

Place	*Date*		
Kamu	4 – 6 July		1960
Mirgrom	6 – 7 July		1960
Agatsi	7 – 8 July		1960
Ürmür	8 – 9 July		1960
Kamdesh	10 July		1960
Bagalgrom	11 – 12 July		1960
Sasku	12 – 13 July		1960
Punja	13 – 14 July		1960
Saru	14 – 15 July		1960
Purstam	15 July		1960
Chapi	16 July		1960
Ürmür	17 July		1960
Kamdesh	18 – 24 July		1960
Keshtagrom	25 – 28 July		1960
Kamdesh	28 – 30 July		1960
Binagrom	31 July		1960
Jamjagrom	1 August		1960
Kamdesh	2 – 10 August		1960
Ürmür	11 August		1960
Kamu	12 – 15 August		1960

Second Journey: *Ashkun Area*

Place	*Date*	
Nangaraj	28 December	1960
Mäin	29 December	1960
Malil	30 Dec. – 1 Jan.	1961
Machwa	1 Jan. – 2 Jan.	1961
Malil	3 January	1961
Titin	4 January	1961
Nakara	4 January	1961
Titin	5 January	1961
Nakara	5 January	1961
Titin	6 – 8 January	1961

Third Journey, with Lis R. Jones, Peter R. Jones and Abdul Faqir Rastagar: *Bashgal Valley*

Place	*Date*	
Kamu	3 – 9 August	1966
Kamdesh	10 August	1966
Keshtagrom	11 – 14 August	1966
Kamdesh	15 – 23 August	1966
Kamu	24 August	1966

Fourth Journey, with Mohd. Alam: *Waigal Valley*

Place	*Date*	
Want	15 February	1967
Nisheigrom	16 Feb. – 20 March	1967

Fifth Journey, with Lis R. Jones, Peter R. Jones, Hannah L. Jones and Dr. Carl Krebs: *Bashgal Valley*

Place	*Date*	
Kamu	25 March	1967
Ürmür	26 March	1967
Bagalgrom	27 March	1967
Sasku		
Punja		
Saru		
Purstam		
Aulagal		
Badamuk		
Bajinjo		
Bragamatal	28 March – 2 April	1967

Sixth Journey, with Alef Shah Zadran: *Tregam and Waigal Valley*

Place	*Date*	
Katar	7 August	1967
Gemiri	8 August	1967
Dewi	9 August	1967
Ashtaragala Pass	10 August	1967
Chimi	10 August	1967
Kegal	11 August	1967
Muldesh	12 August	1967
Zhönchigal	13 August	1967
Waigal	14 – 15 August	1967
Ameshdesh	16 August	1967
Jamach	17 August	1967
Nisheigrom	18 August	1967
Want	19 August	1967

Seventh Journey, with Mohd. Aziz Kakar: *Waigal Valley*

Place	*Date*	
Shini-gal	23 February	1968
Want	24 February	1968
Nisheigrom	25 February	1968
Waigal	1 – 3 March	1968

Eighth Journey, with Abdul Shukur: *Waigal Valley*

Place	*Date*	
Want	21 August	1969
Kegal	22 – 23 August	1969
Chimi	24 August	1969
Muldesh	25 August	1969
Zhönchigal	26 – 27 August	1969
Waigal	28 – 30 August	1969
Ameshdesh	31 Aug. – 2 Sept.	1969
Jamach	2 – 3 September	1969
Nisheigrom	4 – 7 September	1969
Want	8 September	1969

Ninth Journey, with Lis R. Jones, Hannah L. Jones and Abdul Shukur: *Waigal Valley*

Place	*Date*	
Want	23 July	1970
Zhönchigal	24 – 28 July	1970
Nisheigrom	29 – 31 July	1970
Want	1 August	1970
Kegal	2 – 4 August	1970
Want	5 August	1970

Note: *In addition to these journeys in Nuristan we spent six years in Afghanistan and carried out many hours of interviews with Nuristani informants in Kabul.*

Wolfgang Lentz (as a member of *Deutsche Hindukusch Expedition* 1935).

June 1935: Gusalak, Wama, Ktiwi, Surich, Kulum, Pushol

July 1935: Gadu, Ateregrom, Bajaigal, Kotagal, Pishok, Achenu, Wama, Nisheigrom, Jemamesh, Ameshdesh, Waigal, Pashki

August 1935: Shtiwe, Papruk, Kamdesh, Badawan, Kamdesh, Barikot.

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INDEX

In this book there are three different categories of text: main text, figure text, and photo text. Where a reference is to be found in the main text this index simply provides the page number. If the reference is to a *figure* text, the figure *number* will be preceded by *f* and followed by the page number. For example: *f 16*/51 refers to the text for Fig. 16 on page 51.

If the reference is to a photo text, the photo *number* will be preceded by *p* and followed by the page number, e. g., *p 28*/51 refers to the text for picture 28 on page 51.

A

äbäisuk / übäazuk 94, 95, 97
Abdul Ahmad, Malik (of Keshtagrom) *p 19*/between 44 & 45
Abdullah, Wakil (of Keshtagrom) 18, 23, 37; *p 43*/61, *p 90*/opposite 97; 139–141
Abdul Mahmad (of Keshtagrom) *p 90*/opposite 97
Abdul Qader (of Waigal) 105
Abdul Qadir (of Keshtagrom) *p 90*/opposite 97
Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan 14, 18; *p 19*/between 44 & 45, *p 25*/47; 52, *p 124*/121; 125–126, *p 136*/between 128 &129
Abies smithiana (see *Picea smithiana*)
Abies spectabilis 31–33, 37, 46, *f 57*/119; *p 124*/121, *p 154*/153
Abies webbiana (see *Abies spectabilis*)
abomasum ('rennet stomach': *giriw'a*) 85; *p 82*/91
Abresh (*bāri* quarter of Zhönchigal) *p 8–9*/opposite 32, *p 31*/53; 62; *p 44*/opposite 62, *p 46*/63
Acanthiolimon 38, 98
Acer 21
Achenu 52
achou 81
ačĭmi 54
adoption of individuals and groups 45
Adrugal 38
Aduri Pass *p 154*/153
adz'ā (landowners) *p 19*/between 44 & 45; *f 23*/63; 69, 103
adze *f 22*/62, *f 23*/63; *p 48*/66, *p 91*/98, 117
Aesculus indica (horse chestnut) 35, 38
Afghanistan, Government of 17, 48
Afghan moneylenders 106
Aftsai / Apsai *f 10*/36; *p 98*/106, *p 109*/110
Agatsi 24
Agok 22, 74, 98, 100, 101
agricultural activities 26; *p 7*/opposite 31; 50–64, 65–70, *p 86*/opposite 96; 98–99
agricultural implements 26; *p 7*/opposite 31; *f 11*/39; 58, 60, 113, 123
agriculture 21; *p 7*/opposite 31, *p 22*/45, **50–64**
Akun (see 'Chimi')
älä / šipū-ala (cheese whey) 88–89
Alaqadari 48
albumin 84, 89
Alectoris graeca (Chukor) 42
Alef Din, Wakil (of Titin) *p 39*/60
Alexander the Great 16, 34
Alingar River 20, 37, 100, *p 149*/143
Alingar Valley 20, 100, 150
almonds 35
Alogolog *p 122*/opposite 120
Alpine meadows (see also 'pastures, mountain') 31, 38, *f 20*/58; 70; *f 30*/73; 74, 76, **82–90**, 92–95, 97–98, 101; *f 57*/119; *p 119*/119
Alpine vegetation 28, 39, 70; *f 33*/77
Alpine zone 38; *f 33*/77
altar, Kafir *p 25*/47
Alvad, T. *p 18a*/opposite 44; 97, 135, 141
āmā *p 17*/opposite 43, *p 38*/59, *p 44*/opposite 62, *p 45*/63; *f 24*/66; *p 50*/67, *f 25*/67; *p 51*/68, *p 90*/opposite 97; 114–117, 130; *f 61*/131; *p 145*/between 140 & 141
Amanulla, King of Afghanistan 126, 141
Ameshdesh *p 21*/45; *f 18*/55; 69, 74–75, 78, 81–82, 85, 103, 105, 109–110, 113; *p 124*/121
Amir Mohammad (of Keshtagrom) *p 82*/91, *p 90*/opposite 97, *p 110*/110 & *p 112*/110
Amir Shah (of Berimdesh, Waigal Village) *f 39*/87; *p 76*/between 88 & 89
amüṣ (a type of rennet cheese) 85, 88–89

amüṣkara 75–88
anasta kera *f 43*/92
ancestors 120
Andersen, P. *f 17*/53
Andropogon Sorghum (Durra) 51
animal husbandry (see 'transhumance')
aṇṭala ṣiṇ *p 16*/42; *f 46*/between 96 & 97; 135; *f 62*/139, *f 67*/153
Apis cerana Fabr. 40 (see also 'bees')
apples 35, 37, 61
apricots 35, 61, *p 124*/121
Apsai / Aftsai *f 10*/36; *p 98*/106, *p 109*/110
apš'ē (horizontal water mill) *f 49*/109
aqueducts, wooden 29; *p 10*/33; 50; *p 75*/88; 113
arable agricultural calendars *(Ackerbaukalender)* 91
arable agriculture 26; *p 7*/opposite 31, *p 8–9*/opposite 32, *p 12*/37 & *p 13*/37, *p 22*/45; **50, 54, 56-58, 62–64**; *p 86*/opposite 96; 98, 103, 106, 148–149
arable land (see 'fields, arable')
Arandu 20
archaeological research 16–17, 116
archaeology 14
ard (see 'plough')
arid zone 34–35, 37
Arrian (Flavius Arrianus) 34
arrow quiver *(ištār)* 36, *f 62*/139
Aryan 21, 40, *p 144*/between 140 & 141
Aryan expansion 14
Aryan language 14–15
asa nišini (see 'solstice')
Aserak 72
ash 37
Ashkun 14, 29, 31; *p 13*/37, *p 15*/39; 41; *p 18*/44; 52; *p 31*/53, *p 35*/55; 60, 70; *p 68*/82, *p 72*/87 & *p 74*/87, *p 77*/between 88 & 89, *p 93*/102; 138, 140; *p 143*/140, *p 144*/between 140 & 141, *p 146*/141 & *p 147*/141, *p 148*/142, *p 149*/143
Ashpai 38
Ashtaragala (Pass) 38, *p 53*/68
Asmar 18
Ašpegra 122–124, *p 131*/126
Aspit *p 124*/121
Āstān (apical ancestor of Āstāndari clan) 132, 139
Āstāndari (a clan of Nisheigrom) 132, 139
Astan Latkam *p 113*/opposite 112
Astan Outumer *p 113*/opposite 112
ast'ō (white whey) 88
Astragalus 38, 98
ateram-ganja *p 45*/63; *f 24*/66, *p 50*/67, *p 51*/68; 116–117; *f 61*/131
atrožan *p 32*/53, *p 46*/63
Atsui Pass *p 124*/121
attara / attər / ater'i-dūl *p 85*/95
Aulagal / Oulagul 20
Autumn climate 29
Auzuk *p 38*/59
avalanches 25, 70, *p 144*/between 140 & 141
Avesta 15
awŕ'ən (see horizontal water mill)
axe *p 5*/opposite 31; 31, *p 48*/66; 81, 84
ay'ō 88
Azetik Pass 28
Azhi (edge, cutting edge) *f 14*/47
Azizulla, Haji (of Kegal) 69

B

Babamorad Feraghi 117
Badamuk 20, 31; *p 99*/106; 109
Badawan 24
Badrāngrom *p 19*/between 44 & 45
Badrowut 127
Bagalgrom 20
bagoṛ'a (soft whey cheese) 89
Bajistul *p 150*/143
bakawa (dowry) 107–108; *p 111*/110
bamashti 81
Bandawals 101
bane / ban'ē *p 45*/63, *p 81*/90
Baprok / Papruk 20, 22, 83, *p 96*/105
barberry (*Berberis* spec.) 37
bāri 14; *p 25*/47; 50; *p 31*/53; 162; *f 23*/63; *p 46*/63; 71; *p 67*/82; 102–103, 105, 113–118, *p 128*/123; 133, 138–139, 141
bāri class 45, 102–103, 113
bāri skills 45; *p 76*/between 88 & 89; 102–103, 105, **113–118**
Barikot 24, 34, 150
barley 21, 52, 54, 60, 98, *p 132*/126
Barrow, Capt. E. G. *p 100*/opposite 107
Barth, F. 101
Bashgal house type 117
Bashgal River 20, 28, 109
Bashgal Valley 16–17, 20, 22–23; *f 4*/27; *p 1*/28, *p 2*/29 & *p 3*/29; 31; *f 10*/36; *p 11*/36; 40, 51, *p 30*/52; 58; *p 36*/58; 60; *p 42*/between 60 & 61; 70, 74; *f 33*/77; *p 66*/80, *p 69*/82; 83; *p 70*/87; 91; *p 90*/between 96 & 97, *p 91*/98, *p 92*/99, *p 94*/103, *p 95*/104, *p 99*/106, *p 100*/opposite 107; *f 48*/107; *p 102*/108, *p 103*/108, *p 104*/108; *p 107*/109, *p 109*/110, *p 113*/opposite 112; 113–115, 118; *f 56*/118; *p 127*/123; 138; *p 146*/141; 149–150; *p 155*/153
baskets 26; *p 6*/opposite 31, *p 14*/opposite 38; 54; *p 36*/58; 62; *p 79*/opposite 89, *p 80*/90, *p 82*/91, *p 92*/99; 102–103, 105; *p 102*/108 & *p 104*/108, *p 119*/119, *p 146*/141
bāšpe 16, 71, *p 85*/95; 103, 105; *f 56*/118; *p 145*/between 140 & 141
bast, walnut *p 15*/39
bazal, 92
Bāz Mohammad (of Dewa) *p 132*/126
beads *p 40*/60; 108
beans *p 12*/37; 50–51, 54; *p 51*/68
Bear, Brown *(Ursus arctos)* 35, 40, 148
Bear, Himalayan Black *(Selenarctos thibetanus)* 35, 41, 148; *p 154*/153
beater (weaving) *p 30*/52; *f 17*/53; *p 31*/53
beds *p 42*/between 60 & 61
bees 35, 40, 105
beetles, dung 40
belt, metal-studded *p 35*/55; *f 19*/56; 81
bem 14
Berberis spec. 37
Bergele / Berimdesh / Bromdesh (in Waigal Village) *p 12*/37, *p 13*/37; 50; *p 28*/51, *p 34*/54, *p 42*/between 60 & 61; *f 39*/87; *p 76*/between 88 & 89, *p 87*/opposite 96; 100, 103, 106; *p 142*/139, *p 145*/between 140 & 141
berimganja / berim-ganja / berim-gai *p 17*/opposite 43; 62; *p 44*/opposite 62, *p 45*/63; 65; *p 49*/67, *p 51*/68, *p 82*/91, *p 88*/opposite 96; 114, 117
ber-uza 81
Betula jacquemontii 38, 100
birch *(Betula jacquemontii* subsp. *jacquemontii)* 38, 100
birds 40, **41–43**
Birds of Afghanistan (Paludan) 40, 43
Birkot / Barikot 24, 34, 150
birth & menstruation house 150; *p 151*/opposite 150
blacksmith(s) & blacksmithing 45; *p 43*/61; *f 23*/63; *p 90*/opposite 97; 102, 105, 113; *p 122*/opposite 120, *p 125*/122; 139
Bomboret, Chitral *p 24*/47, *p 25*/47, *p 42*/between 60 & 61
bow & arrow *p 127*/123; 132
bow, pellet 62; *p 127*/123
bowls, wooden *p 5*/opposite 31; 38; *f 14*/47, *f 21*/59; *p 38*/59, *p 48*/66; *f 28*/71; 75; *f 31*/76; *p 61*/opposite 79; *f 35*/79; 79, *f 37*/80; *p 66*/80; 83–84, 88, 102–103, 105, 108, 113; *p 145*/between 140 & 141
Bragamatal 16, 20, 24; *f 5*/30; *p 11*/36; 60; *p 100*/opposite 107, *p 101*/opposite 107; *f 53*/115; 138; *p 155*/153
brahman 14
brāpek 103, 105; *p 112*/110; *f 56*/118
bread *p 14*/opposite 38; 52, 54; *p 36*/58; *f 21*/59; *p 37*/59, *p 38*/59, *p 58*/opposite 71, *p 66*/80; 81, 103; *p 112*/110, *p 118*/118
Breckle, S.-W. 23; *f 4*/27; 28–29; *f 5*/30 & [illegible]38–39; *f 33*/77, *f 34*/78; *p 65*/80; 84
bridewealth *(malpreg)* 107, 108
bridges 22, 25; *p 10*/33; 113, 118; *p 119*/119, *p 149*/143
British Government of India (records) 14
Brom-dari (mata) 139
Bromdesh (see Bergele)
Buddruss, Georg 14, 17, 25, 85–86, 89, 95, 97, 99, 116, 120
Bukinich, D. D. 20, 38, 52, *p 136*/between 128 & 129; 148
Bura-dari (mata) 139
Burnes, A. *p 20*/between 44 & 45
Büßerschnee / penitentes 28
butter *p 58*/opposite 71; 76, 78–79; *p 62*/80, *p 63*/80; **84–85**, 86, 88, 97, 100, 103, 106
butter, clarified (see ghee)
butterflies 40
buttermilk *(išpi)* 76, *p 64*/80; 81, 84–86, 88–89
buttermilk whey *(küteg-āw)* 84, 86, 89–90
Büž-dari *p 8–9*/opposite 32

C

calcium (in diet) 90
calendars 54, 56, 72, 77, 91, 96–99
calendar systems 54–58, 91, 94, 99
calendar systems & transhumance 72, **91–99**
calves 71, *p 60*/opposite 79, *p 61*/opposite 79; 81, 83, 85
cancer 90
cap, 'horned' *p 11*/36, *p 24*/47
cape, women's (in Kalashum) 113
Capra falconeri (markhor) 41; *p 16*/42; 43; *p 120*/opposite 120; 122, 148
Capra ibex 41
caraway seeds *p 14*/opposite 38; 105
Carex 39
carpenters 45, *f 22*/62, *p 48*/66, *p 50*/67, *p 91*/98, *p 103*/108; 109, **113–118**
carpets / rugs 93; *p 111*/110
carving, wood 21; *p 2*/29, *p 3*/29, *p 16*/42, *p 17*/opposite 43, *p 18a*/opposite 44; *f 14*/47, *f 15*/47; *p 44*/opposite 62, *p 48*/66; *f 24*/66, *f 25*/67, *f 26*/68; *p 83*/opposite 94; 102; *p 95*/104; *f 47*/104; *p 103*/108; 112–114, 117; *f 56*/118; *p 145*/between 140 & 141
casein 84, 86
caste, Indian 14
cattle 57–58, 65, 71–73, 75, *p 62*/80; 84–85, 93, 103; *p 111*/110, *p 116*/115; 132, 139
cedar nuts (edible kernel from *Pinus Gerardiana*) 21, 31, 32, 37, 46, 62, 64, 119

cedar trees 21, [illegible]osite 31; 31; *p 8–9*/opposite 32; 35, 37, 41,; *f 33/77*
Cedrus deodara Loud. 21, 31–33, 37, 46, 119; *p 154*/153
Cedrus indica (see '*Cedrus deodara*')
cemetery *p 84*/95, *p 134*/between 128 &129
Cercis griffithii 33
cereals / grain 29, 50–52, 58; *p 82*/91, *p 92*/99; 121
cəwō 14, 40
Chaga Sarai 16, 20, 23; *f 4*/27; 34
chair, 'horn' *(ṣiṇ-niṣ'ā)* *p 66*/80; *f 54*/116 (see also *f 55*/117)
Chandlu (of Bragamatal) *p 101*/opposite 107
Chandlu Astan (of Kamdesh) *p 113*/opposite 112
change, social 48–49
Charadgul 24
cheese 22, 37–38, 48, 57; *p 57*/opposite 71; 75; *f 31*/76; 78–79, *p 62*/80, *p 63*/80; 81, 85–86, 88–90, 103, 105–106, 108; *p 111*/110, *p 116*/115, *p 118*/118, *p 119*/119, *p 155*/153
cheese-making 75–76; *f 36*/79; *p 62*/80, *p 64*/80, *p 65*/80; 82, 84, **85–91**
Chemikara (Gana) 139
Chetras 69; *p 124*/121
Chimanishei / Amüṣkara 75–76, 85, 88
Chimi 31; *p 22*/45, *p 49*/67; 72, 75, 88; *p 85*/95, *p 97*/105
Chimi Ding (of Zhönchigal) *p 20*/between 44 & 45
Chiro *f 56*/118
Chitral 17, 26; *p 11*/36, *p 24*/47, *p 25*/47; 100
Chough, Alpine *(Pyrrhocorax graculus)* 42
Chough, Red-billed *(Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax)* 42
Chuk *f 56*/118
Chukor *(Alectoris graeca)* 42
churn *p 58*/opposite 71; *f 32*/76; *p 63*/80; 84, 86, 88
churn, making a 84
churning *p 58*/opposite 71, *p 63*/80; 84, 86, 88, 97, 120
churn-stick, rotating (Gujur) 100
Cinclus pallasii (Brown Dipper) 42
či-pel'ā 94
clabber *f 32*/76; 84, 86, 88
clans *p 4*/opposite 31; 45, 73, 76, 120, 138
classes, social 44–45, 102–103
class system 45
Clemmesen, J. 90
climate 23–24, *f 3*/26; 26; *f 4*/27; 27–28; *f 5*/30, *f 6*/30; 34, 50; *f 34*/78; 106, 148
cloth 105, 108, 113
clothing, men's 25; *p 5*/opposite 31; 41; *p 31*/53, *p 35*/55; *f 23*/63; 81; *p 91*/98; 113; *p 122*/opposite 120, *p 129*/126
clothing, women's 21; *p 11*/36, *p 15*/39; 41; *p 36*/58, *p 40*/60; 108, 113; *p 135*/between 128 & 129, *p 148*/142
communications (road access) 49
community, Nuristani 44
coniferous forests 21, 29, 31, 32, 37–38, 41; *p 23*/46; 70; *p 119*/119, *p 124*/121, *p 125*/122; 148; *p 154*/153
coniferous zone *p 4*/opposite 31; **35–38**; 42; *p 18*/44; 69; *f 33*/77
construction, house (see 'house construction', 'house plans', 'house types', etc.)
cooking *p 38*/59, *p 66*/80, *p 116*/115
cooking vessels 22; *p 66*/80
cormorant 42
Corvus corax (Raven) 42
Corvus macrorhynchos (Jungle Crow) 42
Corylus jacquemontii (hazel) 37, 61, 63, 70; *p 124*/121, *p 125*/122
Cousinia elasoonensis Rech. f. et Edelberg n. sp. 38, 98
čow 103
cowherd (see herdsman)
cowrie shells *p 148*/142
cows, descriptive terms for 83
craftsmen (see also '*bāri*') 22; *p 8–9*/opposite 32, *p 10*/33; 35, 45; *p 25*/47; 50; *p 30*/52, *p 31*/53, *p 44*/opposite 62, *p 45*/63; *f 23*/63; 71; *p 71*/87, *p 75*/88, *p 76*/between 88 & 89, *p 90*/opposite 97; 102–103; **113–118**
craftsman class (see also *bāri*) 45, 102–103, 113
Crataegus 21
Creeper, Wall *(Tichodroma muraria)* 42
crop damage 40, 52, 57, 59, 149
crop rotation 51–52
crops 21, 28, 52, 61, 64, 79
crop yields **60**
Crow, Jungle *(Corvus macrorhynchos)* 42
Crown Imperial, Yellow *(Fritillaria imperialis* var. *chitralensis)* 35
cultivation (see arable)
čunuka (wooden vessel holding 7 *dur*) 79
ču-pel'ā 94
cūra ṣiṇ *p 16*/42
curds 28, *p 64*/80, *p 65*/80; 82, 84–86
cushion shrublands 38

D

dād (a type of drum) *p 117*/115; 143, 146
dagger (see *katara*)
dairy activities 28, 71, 74–79; *p 62*/80, *p 63*/80, *p 64*/80, *p 65*/80; **82–90**, 91–99
dairy products 38; *p 57*/opposite 71; 74–79; *p 62–65*/80; 81–82, **84–91**, 94, 98–99, 106; *p 155*/153
dam sites, possible 150
dance / dancing *p 117*/115, *p 136*/between 128 & 129; 133, 144
Danish Expedition to Central Asia, Third (1947–49) 41
Danish Folklore Archives, Copenhagen 135
Danish State Film Central, Copenhagen 52, 62, 63, 113
Daphne angustifolia (Laurel) 35
Dari (Persian) 99
Darvīš Muḥammad Ḫān-i Gāzī 17
Dázi *f 56*/118
debt 106
deciduous forests 21
deciduous fruit trees **21**, *p 4*/opposite 31, *p 28*/51, *p 29*/52; 61–63; *p 137*/between 128 & 129
decision-making, political 48
Deer, Musk *(Moschus moschiferus)* 41
deer (in mythology) 133
deer tendons, use of *f 40*/88
deforestation 148–153
deities, pre-Muslim 120
Demučem / Sunaratčem 132
Demuta 130, 132, 139
Dendrocopus himalayensis (Himalayan Pied Woodpecker) 42
dənə 71
Denmark (agricultural energy expenditure in) 37
Deogrom / Dewa 24–25, 31; *p 42*/between 60 & 61; 61, 70, 98, 115–116
Derin (see Dungul)
Deutsche Hindukusch Expedition, 1935 (see D. i. H.)
Dewa / Deogram 24–25, 31, *p 42*/between 60 & 61; 61, 70, 98, 115–116; *Note*/between 120 &121; *p 132*/126, *p 133*/between 128 & 129
Dewi 85
diet, Nuristani 51, 54, 61–62, 90, *f 57*/119; *p 125*/122
D. i. H. (German Hindu Kush Expedition, 1935) 28, 35, 38, 51–52, 54, 60, 69, 74, 82, 95, 117, 126–127; *p 134*/between 128 &129
diŋastūn *p 47*/66; 132
Din Mohammad (of Kamdesh) 102, 112
Din Mohammad (of Nisheigrom) *f 42*/90, *f 43*/92
Diogrom / Deogrom / (see Dewa)
Diospyros lotus (persimmon) 35, 61
Dipper, Brown *(Cinclus Pallasii)* 42
Disni *p 121*/opposite 120; *song*/between 120 & 121; *p 123*/121, *p 136*/between 128 & 129
dispute settlement 48
division of labour 50, 59, 65; *p 62*/80, *p 86*/opposite 96; 113; (see also '*bāri*')
Diwrei 72
Dizane *f 13*/44
dogs, guard 83, 85, 89, 132
Dorah / Durah Pass 28
dough, bread *p 38*/59, *p 66*/80; 84
dowry *(bakawa)* 107–108; *p 111*/110
dravle 89
drill, pump *f 38*/82 (see also 'tools')
drums *p 117*/115; 133, 142–143, 146
Drunas dari *(mata)* 139
Drungsa 72
Dugobu-do 20
dūl *p 85*/95
Dumde dari *(mata)* 139
Dungal / Dungul 22, 35, 37–38; *p 19*/between 44 & 45; 74, 85, 100, 103
dūr (ladle & unit of liquid measure) *p 48*/66; 79; *f 37*/80
Düröshwa 25, 116
Durra *(Andropogon Sorghum)* 51
dúšt (ell) 114
dúštü-dúštü (important elder) 130
dūwřāi (mediator) 130

E

earring *p 40*/60; *f 56*/118; 141
earthquakes *(indriṣt)* 22, 113; *p 144*/between 140 &141
ecological balance & system 60, 64, 74, 76, 91–99, 119
economic organization 44–49, 50–101
education, formal 48–49
Elaeagnus *f 5*/30
elders 57–58
elite, land-owning & livestock herding 45
ell *(dúšt)* 114
elm 37
Elphinstone, Mountstuart *p 20*/between 44 & 45
energy expended 61, 90
energy flow chart 119
energy, hydro-electric 150, 151
energy invested 60, 61
energy, mechanical 61, *f 57*/119
energy, units of 60–61, 89–90, 99
epiphyts *p 75*/88
equinox, autumnal 57
equinox, vernal 54, 56–57
eranik-pel'ā 92, 94–96
Eremurus himalaicus 69
erosion, soil 35, 149–50, 151
exchange, economic 102–110
exchange, social 102–110

F

fallow 52; *p 126*/123
Faqir, Haji (of Ameshdesh) 74, 78, 105
fathom measure 114
fauna 40–43

Fazl Haq *f 15/4* [illegible]140 & *song*/140
feast-giving *p 16*/42, 45, 48; *p 41*/60, *p 84*/95, *p 85*/95; 106–107; *f 54*/116; *p 118*/118; 120; *p 128*/123
feasts of merit 45, *p 47*/66, *p 83*/opposite 94, *p 95*/104; 107; *p 115*/114, *p 116*/115, *p 117*/115; *f 54*/116, *p 118*/118; 141
fences / fencing *p 18*/44, *p 23*/46
Ferdinand, Klaus 135
fertilizers, chemical 61
fertilizers, natural (see 'manure')
Ficus *f 6*/30
fields, arable 22; *p 3*/29, *p 4*/opposite 31, *p 7*/opposite 31; 31; *p 8–9*/opposite 32; *f 8*/33; *p 10*/33; 34–35; *p 12*/37, *p 13*/37, *p 14*/opposite 38, *p 15*/39, *p 18*/44, *p 19*/between 44 & 45; 45; *p 22*/45, *p 23*/46; 50–51; *p 28*/51, *p 29*/52, *p 33*/54; 54, 58, 61, 63, 65, 71, *p 75*/88; 90, 93; *p 86*/opposite 96; 102, 119; *f 57*/119; *p 119*/119, *p 125*/122; *f 59*/123; *p 126*/123, *p 137*/between 128 &129
figs 35, 61
fines 57, 69, 71, 107
Finsen Institute (Copenhagen) 90
fir (see *Abies spectabilis*)
fire damage (forest) *p 23*/46; 148–149
firewood *p 1*/28; 38; *p 16*/42, *p 30*/52, *p 33*/54, *p 36*/58; 59; *p 49*/67, *p 52*/68; 69, 84; *p 70*/87; **89–90**; *p 86*/opposite 96, *p 92*/99; *f 57*/**119**; *p 119*/119, *p 144*/between 140 & 141, *p 146*/141, *p 148*/142; *f 66*/152
Fischer, D. *f 7*/32; 100, 149; *f 66*/152
fish 40–41
flail 60; *p 69*/82
Flohn, H. 26
Flora Iranica 32, 38, 40
flour 54, *p 37*/59, *p 38*/59; 100, 108, 119
flutes 84; *p 117*/115; 143–145
Flycatcher, Paradise *(Terpsiphone paradisi)* 42
fodder (see also 'hay') *p 14*/opposite 38; *f 20*/58; 59, 65, 69–70, 98; *p 132*/126, *p 146*/141, *p 147*/141
folk-hero 120 (see also 'Demuta' & 'Ašpegra')
food, attitudes toward 51–52, 54; *p 36*/58; 105
food chain 61
food safe (storage) *p 82*/91, *p 88*/opposite 96; *f 61*/131
food, staple 51
food surplus 105–106
footwear, goatskin 24–25; *p 72*/87, *p 73*/87, *p 74*/87
footwear, other *p 35*/55
forest clearing 46, 50, 90; *p 119*/119; 148–149; *p 154*/153
forest exploitation 69, 90, 101, *f 57*/119; **148–153**
forest maps of Nuristan 32 & 152
forest projects 34, 151
forests, threat to 34; *p 22*/45, *p 23*/46; 69, 90, 101, **148–153**
forest zone(s) 21, 28–29, **31**; *p 8–9*/opposite 32; 35, 42; *p 35*/55; 69; *p 57*/opposite 71; *f 30*/73, *f 33*/77; 82, 85–86, 89–90, 100
fork, traction *(kirau)* 26; *p 7*/opposite 31, *p 15*/39; *f 11*/39; *p 16*/42; 58; *f 59*/123
Freitag, H. 35, 38
Fritillaria imperialis var. *chitralensis* (Yellow Crown Imperial) 35
fruits 29, 35, 37, 57, 61–64, 79, 106, 119 (see also 'deciduous fruit trees')
Funder, T. 29
funeral ceremony *p 84*/95
funeral effigies *f 10*/36, *f 56*/118
funeral feasts 48; *p 84*/95, *p 115*/114
funnel, wooden *f 32*/76; 84
furniture 113
Fussman, Gérard 14, 17

G

games *p 26*/50, *p 27*/50, *p 150*/143
Gana (Chemikara) 139, 140
Ganderik (of Zhönchigal) *p 16*/42, *p 17*/opposite 43
Gandhara *p 42*/between 60 & 61
Ganolkalchik (wooden vessel for ghee) *f 14*/47
gara 62
gara-gar 62
gardens 61 (see also 'Indrakun')
Gardez 148
garnets 22
Garrulus lanceolatus (Lanceolated or Black-throated Jay) 42
gateway, memorial *p 41*/60
Gawardesh / Gourdesh 20, 31
Gawarei 72
Gazetteer of Afghanistan 24
genealogies *p 19*/between 44 & 45; 120, **138–141**
Gentiana Huxleyi 70
geomorphology **19**
Germanic (language) Branch 15
Gesin 129
ghee 38; *f 14*/47; 48; *f 28*/71; 75–76, 78; *f 35*/79; *p 63*/80; 81–82, 85–86, 100, 103, 105–106, 108; *p 111*/110, *p 116*/115, *p 118*/118, *p 119*/119; 133
Ghulam Haidar (Sipah Salar) 18
Ghulam Nabi (of Nisheigrom) *f 12*/opposite 42; 105, 150
gift exchange 102–110
Giles, Surgeon G. M. J. *p 11*/36, *p 100*/opposite 107
Gilgit-Chitral Mission, 1885–86 28; *p 11*/36, *p 100*/opposite 107
Gimiri / Gimir / Gambir 85
giriw'a ('rennet stomach') 85
glaciation 16, 22, 51
glaciers 22–23, 29
gneiss 22
goat-hair, uses of *p 19*/between 44 & 45, *p 30*/52; 62; *p 49*/67, *p 51*/68, *p 68*/82, *p 72*/87; 93, 99, 105, 130, *p 148*/142, *p 155*/153
goatherd (see 'herdsman')
goats, domestic 21, 25, 34; *p 16*/42; 48, 52, 57, 65; *p 47*/66; *f 26*/68; *p 53*/68; 69–70; *p 56*/70; 71–74; *f 32*/76; *p 62*/80; 81, 83–85; *p 77*/between 88 & 89; 91; *p 85*/95, *p 87*/opposite 96; 98, 103; *p 95*/104; 105; *p 97*/105; 106, 108; *p 116*/115, *p 128*/123, 132, 139; *p 146*/141; 149; *p 155*/153; *f 67*/153
goat skin, uses of *p 7*/opposite 31, *p 15*/39, *p 35*/55; 63, 69, 81; *p 73*/87, *p 74*/87, *p 148*/142
goats, wild (see 'markhor')
goṭ-uza 81
Gourdesh / Gawardesh 20, 31
gourds 60
goüzazhilë 81
government, village 48
grain (see 'cereal')
Graman Valley 83
granites 22
grape harvest *p 20*/between 44 & 45; 62–63, 79; *p 78*/opposite 89, *p 79*/opposite 89, *p 80*/90
grape juice *p 82*/91
grape pressing *f 41*/89
grapes 62–63; *p 78*/opposite 89, *p 79*/opposite 89, *p 80*/90
grape vines 34, 61–64; *p 78*/opposite 89, *p 79*/opposite 89
graves *p 83*/opposite 94, *p 97*/105, *p 134*/between 128 & 129
grazing 28, 34, 39, 41; *p 23*/46; 57, 65, 70, 82, 85, 91, 93–95, 99–101; *f 57*/119; *p 132*/126; 148–149
grazing rights 45, 70, 73–76; *p 62*/80; 100, 103; *p 124*/121
Greek cultural influence, possible 16
Greek (language) Branch 15
greenschists 22
gröṣ aṇṭala ṣiṇ *f 52*/114; 135
groṣ ṣiṇ *f 27*/69
Gruenberg, A. L. 136, 142
gūča *f 42*/90
Guduza 122
guest room / 'corner room' *p 90*/opposite 97; *f 50*/111
Gujurs *p 59*/opposite 78; 79; *p 62*/80, *p 63*/80; 90–91, **100–101**, 149
Gurdon, B. E. M. *p 24*/47, *p 25*/47
gur-ulyum (red wheat) 52
Gusalak 20–22, 34, 68, 150
Gypaëtus barbatus (Bearded Vulture) 43

H

Habibulla, King of Afghanistan 126
Haji Malik (of Berimdesh) *p 145*/between 140 & 141
Hākim 106
hanan't 18a/opposite 44
Hamp, E. 14
harp *(waj)* *p 25*/47, *p 42*/between 60 & 61; *f 40*/88; *p 76*/between 88 & 89; 133, 142–143, 144–146
harvest 29, 52, 57–60; *p 52*/68; 70, 73, 79; *p 69*/82; 94; *p 86*/opposite 96; 98; *p 92*/99; 105–106; *p 102*/108, *p 104*/108, *p 105*/109, *p 108*/110; 117
harvest date (fruits) 57, 62–63, 79
Hassinger, J. D. 40–41
hay & haymaking *p 1*/28, *p 6*/opposite 31; 37; *p 17*/opposite 43; 59, 64–65; *p 52*/68; 70; *p 86*/opposite 96; 98, 117, 119; *p 125*/122, *p 132*/126, *p 144*/between 140 & 141, *p 147*/141
hay-stores / barns *p 17*/opposite 43, *p 18*/44, *p 44*/opposite 62, *p 45*/63; 65, 70, 73, 79, 114, 117–118; *p 132*/126, *p 144*/between 140 & 141, *p 147*/141
hazel *(Corylus jacquemontii)* 37, 61, 63, 70, *p 124*/121, *p 125*/122, *p 135*/between 128 & 129
hearth *p 66*/80, *p 138*/130, *p 145*/between 140 & 141
heddle shaft / heddle rod *p 30*/52; *f 17*/53, *p 31*/53
Hedera nepalensis 34
herbaceous vegetation 34
herbicides 61
herding activities 65, 69–71, 74–101
herd size 71
herdsman / herdsmen 39, 41, 65; *p 53*/68; 69–71, 73, 75; *p 59*/opposite 78, *p 60*/opposite 79, *p 61*/opposite 79; *f 37*/80; *p 62*/80, *p 63*/80, *p 64*/80, *p 65*/80; 82–85, 90, 92–93, 97, 101, *p 119*/119; 120, 132
herdsman's wages 75, **81**
Hindu Kush Expedition, German (see D. i. H.)
Hindu temple, ruins of 14
hoe 26, **123**; *f 59*/123; *p 126*/123
hog, wild *(Sus scrofa)* 40
hokumat 106
hollyhocks, white 37
Homayun Khan (of Berimdesh) *p 145*/between 140 & 141
honey 40, 103, 105, 108
Hoopoe *(Upupa epops)* 42
horns, goat 41, *p 16*/42, *p 46*/63, *p 47*/66; *f 26*/68, *f 27*/69, *f 32*/76, *p 77*/between 88 & 89, *p 88*/opposite 96; *f 46*/between 96 & 97; *p 95*/104, *p 97*/105; *f 52*/114; *p 136*/between 128 & 129, 135; *f 62*/139, *f 67*/153

horse chestnut *(Aesculus indica)* 35, 38
horses 19, 21, 83, and (in mythology) 124
hospitality 51, 52; *p 36*/58; 107
house construction 21, *p 16*/42, *p 29*/52, *p 44*/opposite 62, *p 45*/63, *p 46*/63; 65; *p 49*/67, *p 50*/67, *p 51*/68, *p 81*/90, *p 91*/98; 102; *p 93*/102, *p 94*/103; *f 47*/104; *p 98*/106, *p 99*/106, *p 103*/108; 111, **113–118**, 121; *p 136*/between 128 & 129, *p 138*/130, *p 144*/between 140 & 141, *p 145*/between 140 &141
house plans 111, 121, 131;
house types *p 2*/29, *p 3*/29, *p 89*/between 96 & 97; **114–118**, 121, 131; *p 144*/between 140 & 141
humidity, relative 25–26; *f 3*/26; 28; *f 5*/30, *f 6*/30; 34–35; *p 21*/45; 51; *f 34*/78; *p 65*/80; 84; *p 75*/88, *p 78*/opposite 89; 148
hunting 41–42, 120; *p 127*/123
Hussalik (see 'Gusalak')
hydro-electric power, potential 150–151
Hylopetes fimbriatus (Smaller Kashmir Flying Squirrel) 40
Hystrix indica (porcupine) 40

I

Ibex *(Capra ibex)* 41, 148
ice age (Würm) 22, 35
Ichemgal / Shidgul 20, 22
Impeyan Pheasant (see Monal)
Imra / Imro 20, n 36, 124; *p 130*/126; 132, 150
Indian languages 14–15
Indo-Aryan peoples 17
Indo-European 14
Indo-European languages 15, 17
Indo-Iranian 15
Indra 38; *p 144*/between 140 & 141; 144
Indrakun 34–35, 38; *p 20*/between 44 & 45; 61–62; *f 41*/89
indriṣt (earthquake) 22, 113; *p 144*/between 140 & 141
infant mortality 140
influence, social & political 48; *p 113*/opposite 112
invasion (of Kafiristan by Afghan armies) 14, 17–18; *p 19*/between 44 & 45, *p 25*/47; 52; *p 41*/60, *p 124*/121; 124–126
Iranian cultural influence 16
Iranian languages 14–15
Iranian loan words 16
irīṣi / ərji 92
iron worker (see Gana) 139
Irrigal (see Weligal)
irrigated meadows 70, 119; *p 132*/126
irrigation 22; *p 13*/37; 50–51; *p 33*/54; 57–58, 64; *p 75*/88, *p 86*/opposite 96; 97; *p 123*/121; *f 64*/143; 150
irrigation channels *f 6*/30; *p 6*/opposite 31; *p 10*/33; *f 8*/33; *p 14*/opposite 38; 50; *f 18*/55; 58, 70; *p 75*/88, *p 84*/95, *p 123*/121, *p 125*/122
išī (horizontal water mill) *f 49*/109
Islam, conversion to 14, 16, 52
išpi (buttermilk) 76
ištār (arrow quiver) 36
Italic (Language) Branch 15
ivy *(Hedera nepalensis)* 34, *p 75*/88
iznara 93

J

jacket, goatskin *p 5*/opposite 31, *p 15*/39, *p 35*/55, *p 55*/69; 81; *p 148*/142
Jalalabad 17, 31; *f 33*/77; 108, 126
Jamach / Jemamesh 34, 58; *p 52*/68; 75, 85
Jan Gul, son of Palyuk *p 134*/between 128 & 129
Jashi people *p 19*/between 44 & 45
Jau-da Pass (in Chetras) *p 54*/69
Jay, Black-throated or Lanceolated *(Garrulus lanceolatus)* 42
Jemamesh (see Jamach)
jewellery & jewellers 108, 113; *f 56*/118; *p 148*/142
Juglans (see also 'walnut') 21
jujube *(Zizyphus vulgaris)* 21, 25, 35, 42, 61, 62; *p 81*/90
Jukor f 56/118
juniper zone 31, 38, 42, 90
Juniperus communis ssp. nana 31, 38
Juniperus communis var. *montana* (see *Juniperus communis* ssp. nana)
Juniperus excelsa 31–32, 38–39, 41, 46; *p 64*/80; 84, 90, 100, 119
Juniperus macropoda (see *Juniperus excelsa*)
Juniperus polycarpos (see *Juniperus excelsa*) 31–33
Juniperus seravshanica (see *Juniperus excelsa*)
Juniperus sibirica (see *Juniperus communis* ssp. nana) 31
junket 86

K

Kabul Museum 37
Kabul River 20, 22, 34
Kabul University 49
Kabul Valley 16
kac (Setaria italica) 51, 76
Kafir Languages, origin of 14–15
Kafirs of the Hindu Kush 20, 24
Kafir statues / effigies *f 10*/36, *f 15*/47; *p 24*/47; *f 56*/118
Kalam *f 4*/27
Kalandar 141
Kalandu 139
Kalaša (people of Waigal Valley) 17, 31, 91; *f 56*/118
Kalash Kafirs (of Chitral) 17
Kalashum 105, 132–133, 138
Kam 70; *f 30*/73; 74, 90, 100–101, 133
Kamah Pass / Weran 20, 41, 95; *p 131*/126
Kamdesh 17, 20, 24; *p 1*/28, *p 2*/29, *p 3*/29; 31, 39, 48, 51; *p 30*/52; 60, 69, 72, 74; *p 59*/78, *p 66*/80, 81; *p 69*/82; 85; *p 70*/87; 88, 90; *p 82*/91, *p 91*/98, *p 92*/99; 101–102; *p 94*/103, *p 95*/104; 108; *p 102*/108, *p 103*/108, *p 104*/108, *f 51*/112; *p 113*/opposite 112, *p 127*/123; 127, 129, 133, 140–141; *p 150*/143
Kamgul 133
Kamruk (Lal Mohammad Khan) 141
Kamu 20, 31, 51, 150
Kamuta Astan *p 113*/opposite 112
Kandeh / Kandai *f 6*/30
Kandruk *p 45*/63
Kantar kət 16; *p 87*/opposite 96, *p 88*/opposite 96, *p 89*/opposite 97; 114
Kantiwo (see Ktiwi)
Kānū (of Nisheigrom) *p 41*/60
Kardunat f 56/118
Karmali f 56/118
Karwái f 56/118
Kashiragal 38; *p 62*/80, *p 63*/80
Kashmund 31, 34
Katar 85
katara / Katir (dagger) *f 14*/47, *f 18*/55; *p 35*/55; *f 19*/56; 103, 105
Kathmandu (MAB Conference, 1975) 151
Kati / Kate area 17; *f 23*/63; 82; *p 122*/opposite 120; 125
Kati Language 14–15, 40, 114
Kati people 101; *p 122*/opposite 120; 136
Katir territory 20
Katir mushṭ / Chema-mushṭi (dagger hilt) *f 14*/47
kavor f 21/59
kawa 103
Kazana (Sher Gul of Nisheigrom) 138
Kazha f 14/47
Kegal 31, 40; *p 29*/52, *p 50*/67; 69, 75, 88; *f 54*/116
Kerpelno 81
Kerstan, Gerhard 34–35, 38, 148
Keshtagrom / Kushtoz 18, 23–24, 37; *p 19*/between 44 & 45, *p 36*/58; 60; *p 43*/61, *p 48*/66, *p 57*/opposite 71, *p 58*/opposite 71; *f 30*/73; 74; *p 62*/80; 81, 83; *p 71*/87, *p 73*/87; 88; *p 78*/opposite 89, *p 82*/91, *p 86*/opposite 96, *p 90*/opposite 97; 100–101, 108–109; *p 108*/110, *p 110*/110, *p 111*/110, *p 112*/110; *f 50*/111; 127, 139–141, 143; *p 150*/143
Kewreds 129
Khrebek *f 33*/77, *f 34*/78
Khyber Pass 16
kids 25–26; *p 16*/42; 71, 73, 81, 83–85; *p 119*/119
ki-la / kil-la 94–95
kil'ā (a type of cheese) 37, 75, 81, 85, 89
kilakara 75–76, 85
kilārik (mushroom) 37
kiṛan-xāk ('earth cheese': mushroom) 37
kirau (traction fork) 25; *p 7*/opposite 31, *p 15*/39; *f 11*/39, *p 16*/42; 58; *f 59*/123
kirau ṣiṇ p 16/42, *p 49*/67
kiš-ulyum (white wheat) 52
Kobresia 39
Kohistani 101
kolik čitr / kora čitr f 16/51
Komik 95, 97
komik-pel'ā 95
Konow, S. 114
Kontia / Kun 85
Koran, Holy (oath-taking) 57
Korthalsella opuntia 34
kos f 28/71; 75; *f 35*/79; 81, 133
Kotgai *f 4*/27
Keie & Rechinger *n. 5*/34
Krnmin dari *(mata)* 139
Kshto (see 'Keshtagrom')
Ktiwi / Kantiwo 22–23, 26, 40; *p 19*/between 44 & 45; 58; *p 36*/58, *p 42*/between 60 & 61; 85, 95, 100; *p 124*/121, *p 128*/123; 140, 150
Kulum 22, 100
Kūmér 132
Kumurigil 100
Kun / Kontia 85
kun'a p 128/123
Kunar River 14, 20, 23, 31; *p 114*/opposite 112
Kunar Valley 16; *f 4*/27; 34, 100, 150
Kungani / Kunjani-da Pass 20; *p 59*/opposite 78
Kunkilə (see Chimi)
Kurdar *p 18a*/opposite 44; 126, 142, 146
Kusht 37; *p 19*/between 44 & 45, *p 35*/55, *p 124*/121
Kushteki 16, 22, 37, 42, 98, 115, 124; *p 130*/126, *p 134*/between 128 & 129; 143
Kushtoz (see Keshtagrom)
Kusug dari *(mata)* 139
Kusum *p 120*/opposite 120, *p 123*/121, *p 134*/between 128 & 129
küteg-āw (buttermilk whey) 89
Kuvera (of the Sunarat dari, Nisheigrom) *p 115*/114, *p 116*/115, *p 118*/118
Kyilla 98

L

ladder, notched log *p 18*/44, *p 44*/62; *f 23*/63; 116; *p 146*/141
ladle *(dūr) p 48*/66; 79; *f 37*/80; *p 64*/80; 84, 88
Lage und Richtung (in Parun) 17, 97, 99

Laghman 48, 100
Landai Sīn 31, 70
landowners *p 19*/between 44 & 45; *f 23*/63; 69, 103
languages of Nuristan 14–15, 21
lantern design (smoke hole) *f 50*/111; 115
Latkam Chandlu *p 113*/opposite 112
laurel *(Daphne angustifolia)* 34–35
laws, village 57–58, 71
leadership, political 48
leather-working 102, 113
Lentz, Wolfgang 54, 82, 91, 96, 117, 120, 126–127, 133, 142; *p 151*/opposite 150
Lener 82, 128
leopards 41, 65, 75, 83, 148
Let dari (of Zhönchigal) *p 8–9*/opposite 32
Levi, Peter 26
lineage membership 45
lineages 45, 69, 74; *p 85*/95; 107, 120; *p 128*/123; 133, 138
linguistics 14
livestock 21, 34, 39, 41, 45; *p 23*/46; 50, 57, 60, 64, **65**, 70–71, 73–75, 83–85, 89, 92–94, 98–99, 103, 105; *f 57*/119; *n* /between 120 & 121; *p 132*/126, *p 140*/138, *p 155*/153
lizard, monitor 40
load-carrier *f 20*/58
location / locality & direction (in Parun) 17, 97, 99
Lockhart, Col. W. S. A. 28; *p 11*/36, *p 100*/opposite 107
locusts 59, 149
Logar Valley 52
lolr (loom) *f 17*/53
Lŏngal 72
loom *p 1*/28, *p 30*/52, *p 31*/53; **f 17/53**
Lophophorus impejanus (Monal or Impeyan Pheasant) 43; *p 18a*/opposite 44
Loy Woluswali 48
Luddeh / Lutdeh / Bragamatal 20; *p 100*/opposite 107
Lutkuh (in Chitral) 100
Lutra lutra (otter) 41

M

MAB (Man and the Biosphere, UNESCO) 151, 153
Macaca mulatta (Rhesus macaque) 40, 52, 59, 149
Machwa (Ashkun village) *p 68*/82, *p 77*/between 88 & 89, *p 93*/102, *p 147*/141, *p 148*/142
mačmal kera *f 12*/42
mačmal-oda *f 12*/opposite 42
Madschischpit / Mindscheschpit 127, 129
Madugal 20
Māēn (Ashkun village) *p 74*/87
maize *p 18*/44, *p 19*/between 44 & 45, *p 22*/45, *p 23*/46; 51, **52**, 54, 58, 60, 64; *p 58*/opposite 71; 90, 93, 98; *p 104*/108, *p 126*/123, *p 147*/141
Majegal 22
māla-wřăi 57, 62, 69, 71, 73
Malik Haji Mohammad (of Zhönchigal) *p 80*/90, *p 84*/95; 130
Malil (Ashkun village) *p 140*/138, *p 141*/138, *p 146*/141
malpreg (bridewealth) 107–108
Mami / Manjam Pass 20
Mamin-da Pass 20
mammals 40
Mammals of Afghanistan, A Survey of 40
Mān / Mon *p 121*/opposite 120
Manangul 20
Mandal 20
Mandul, Lake 42, 129
Manis / *man-t-iṣ* 95
Manjam / Mami Pass 20
Manugi 106
manure *p 3*/29; **54**, 64; *p 92*/99; *f 57*/119; *p 119*/119
Mara *p 101*/opposite 107, and *Mara* (deity) *p 120*/opposite 120, *p 123*/121
marble 22
Markaz-i-Wilayat 48
markets, lack of 102, 106
Markhor *(Capra falconeri)* 41, *p 16*/42; 43; *p 120*/opposite 120; 122, 148
marmots *(Marmota caudata)* 40
marriage feasts 106–107
marriage prohibition 45
Mashwi Valley 38
mask, pumpkin *p 122*/opposite 120
mata (lineage) 132, 139
material culture & technology 36, 39, **44**; *p 20*/between 44 & 45, *f 14*/47, *p 24*/47, *p 25*/47; *f 15*/47; *p 30*/52, *p 31*/53, *p 32*/53; *f 17*/53, *f 18*/55; *p 35*/55; *f 19*/56, *f 20*/58; *p 36*/58; *f 21*/59; *p 37*/59, *p 38*/59, *p 41*/60, *p 42*/between 60 & 61, *p 43*/61; *f 22*/62; *p 44*/opposite 62, *p 45*/63; *f 23*/63; *p 46*/63; *f 24*/66; *p 47*/66, *p 48*/66; *f 25*/67; *p 49*/67, *p 50*/67; *f 26*/68; *p 51*/68, *p 52*/68; *f 28*/71, *f 31*/76, *f 32*/76, *f 35*/79, *f 37*/80; *p 63*/80, *p 66*/80; *f 38*/82; *p 67*/82, *p 68*/82, *p 69*/82; *f 39*/87; *p 71*/87, *p 72*/87, *p 73*/87, *p 74*/87; *f 40*/88; *p 75*/88, *p 76*/between 88 & 89, *p 77*/between 88 & 89; *f 41*/89; *p 82*/91; *f 43*/92, *f 44*/93; *p 83*/opposite 94, *p 87*/opposite 96, *p 88*/opposite 96; *f 46*/between 96 & 97; *p 89*/opposite 97, *p 91*/98, *p 92*/99, *p 93*/102, *p 94*/103; *f 47*/104, *p 95*/104, *p 96*/105, *p 97*/105, *p 98*/106, *p 99*/106, *p 101*/opposite 107; *f 48*/107; *p 102*/108, *p 103*/108; *f 49*/109; *p 106*/109, *p 107*/109; *f 50*/111, *f 51*/112; **113–119**; *p 120*/opposite 120, *p 121*/opposite 120, *p 122*/opposite 120; *f 58*/121, *f 59*/123; *p 126*/123, *p 127*/123, *p 128*/123, *p 129*/126, *p 132*/126, *p 134*/between 128 & 129, *p 135*/between 128 & 129; *f 60*/130; *p 138*/130; *f 61*/131, *f 62*/139; *f 63*/140, *p 144*/between 140 & 141, *p 145*/between 140 & 141, *p 146*/141, *p 147*/141, *p 148*/142; *f 64*/143; *p 149*/143, *p 153*/151; *f 65*/151; *p 155*/153; *f 67*/153
Māyār (of Nisheigrom) *p 41*/60
measure, units of (see *'dur'*, *'kos'*, *'cunuka'*, 'ell' & 'fathom')
mediation 48
mediators 130
Mehtar of Chitral 100
melons 60; *p 108*/110
mendanu 100
men's work 50, 65
meteorological observations 23–24; *f 3*/26, *f 4*/27, *f 34*/78
meteorological stations 23; *f 4*/27
micaschists 22
miḥrāb 83
Miǰaspüt *p 19*/between 44 & 45
milk 75–76, 78; *f 36*/79; 79; *f 37*/80; 81, 83–86, 88–89, 93, 99, 106, 120; *song*/between 120 & 121; *p 155*/153
milking *p 5*/opposite 31; 75–76; *p 59*/opposite 78, *p 60*/opposite 79, *p 61*/79; 79; *p 62*/80; 82–85, 100
milk products (see also 'buttermilk', 'curds', 'ghee', 'cheese' & 'whey') 28, 75–78, 83–85, 86–90, 91, 94, 98, 119; *p 155*/153
milk sugar 84, 86, 90
millet *p 12*/37; 50–52, 54; *p 34*/54; 58–59; *p 38*/59; 60; *p 51*/68, *p 58*/opposite 71; 93; *p 85*/95; 98, 108; *p 102*/108, *p 104*/108, *p 116*/115, *p 118*/118
mills (watermills) *f 49*/**109**
minbar 83
Mindscheschpit / Madschischpit 127, 129
Minjan / Minjani 20, 23, 69, *p 65*/80; 83, 85, 100, 108
Mir Samir 28; *f 33*/77
Mirzaman (of Chimi) *p 85*/95
mistletoe (*Viscum dryophilum* Rech. fil. n. sp.) 34
Mohammad Afzal (of Kamdesh) *p 2*/29, *p 3*/29, *p 113*/opposite 112
Mohammad Din (of Kegal) *p 50*/67
Mohammad, Malik (of Keshtagrom) *p 19*/between 44 & 45
Monal or Impeyan Pheasant *(Lophophorus impejanus)* 43; *p 18a*/opposite 44, *p 145*/between 140 & 141
monkeys *(Rhesus macaque / Macaca mulatta)* 40, 52, 59, 149
monsoon, Indian summer 23, 26; *f 4*/27; 28, 35, 39, 50; *p 149*/143; 148–151
Moraigal *p 137*/between 128 & 129
Morgenstierne, Georg 14, 16, 22; *p 11*/36; *poem*/36; 37, 40–41, 54, 79, 92–94; *poem*/opposite 112; *f 53*/115, *f 54*/116; 120, 125–126, 129, 138, 142, 150
mortar & pestle *p 85*/95; 102; *f 51*/112; *p 145*/between 140 & 141
Morus *f 6*/30
Moschus moschiferus (Musk Deer) 41
mosque 48, 62; *p 70*/87, *p 90*/opposite 97; 109; *p 109*/110, *p 114*/opposite 112; 113, 118; *p 118*/118, *p 120*/opposite 120, *p 130*/126
Motamedi, A. A. 81, 92, 100, 116
mound, artificial 16–17, 116; *p 129*/126
Mror 150
Muhammad Amin (of Zhönchigal) 76
mulberry *p 4*/opposite 31; 35, 51; *p 28*/51; 54, 61–62, 64, 119
Muldesh *p 4*/opposite 31; 31; *p 51*/68; 71, 75, 88, 135, 142, 146
mulla *p 15*/39; 93, 95; *p 130*/126
Mulla Mirmad (Pšümul) *p 136*/between 128 & 129
Mumdesh 100
Mumo 101
Mum Pass *p 124*/121
Mun-lau 94
Museum, Kabul 37
Museum, Oslo *p 11*/36
mushrooms 37
Mushwani 100
music *p 42*/between 60 & 61; 84; *p 76*/between 88 & 89; 120, **141–147**
musicians, *bāri* *p 76*/between 88 & 89, *p 117*/115
music instruments *p 42*/between 60 & 61; *f 39*/87, *f 40*/88; *p 76*/between 88 & 89; 108, 113; *p 121*/opposite 120; 141–145
musk 41
musket balls 22
mutton 52
mycelia spawn 37
Myiophoneus caeruleus (Blue Whistling Thrush) 41
myseost 90
myths (see 'oral traditions')

N

Nakara (Ashkun village) *p 143*/140
nakur'ä *p 16*/42, *p 45*/63, *p 98*/106; 115, 117
Nali dari *(mata)* 139
nəmoč 16
Nangarhar Province 48
Narsut / Satrgrom 70, 100
Nechingal / Nichingul 20, 22, 25, 28; *p 48*/66, *p 57*/op-

posite 71, *p* [illegible]e 71; *f 30*/73; 74; *p 59*/opposite 78, *p 71*/87, *p 73*/87, *p 78*/opposite 89, *p 82*/91, *p 86*/opposite 96, *p 90*/opposite 97; 139; *p 150*/143
necklace *p 40*/60, *p 148*/142
neoplasms, malignant 90
Nepal 151
Neubauer, H. F. 34–35, 38
Newby, Eric 28, 42
New Year 54
Nichingul (see Nechingal)
Nilau 133
Ningalam 27, 72–73, 106
Nirmali 150
Nisheigrom *f 12*/opposite 42; *p 41*/60, *p 47*/66, *p 49*/67; 75–77, 88; *f 42*/90; 103, 105, 110, 113; *p 115*/114, *p 116*/115, *p 117*/115, *p 118*/118, *p 137*/between 128 & 129; 130; *p 139*/131; 132–133, 138, 150
Nival vegetation 39
Nival zone 38, 39
Nogge, G. 40–41
Nuristani, Yusuf 69, 74, 76, 78; *f 36*/79; 79, 82, 105
Nurulla *f 15*/47; *song*/140
nuts (see 'walnuts', *'Pinus gerardiana'*, and 'hazel')
Nyctereutes procyonides (Raccoon Dog) 41

O

oak, evergreen 21, 28; *p 4*/opposite 31; 31, 32; *p 8–9*/opposite 32; *f 9*/33; 37–38, 46, 50; *p 29*/52, *p 36*/58; 63–65; *p 78*/opposite 89; *f 57*/119; *p 119*/119; *f 59*/123; *p 137*/between 128 & 129, *p 146*/141; 148–149
oak forests 28, 31, 34–35, 37, 42–43, 65, 69, 70, 72, 100; *p 114*/opposite 112; *f 57*/119; *p 119*/119
oak zone 28; *p 4*/opposite 31; **31**; *f 7*/32; *p 8–9*/opposite 32; 34–35, 37, 69, 73, 119
Ochotona marcrotis (Large Eared Pika) 41
Olea cuspidata 32–33
olive trees *(Olea ferruginea)* 31–32, 34
olive wood 26, 31; *p 119*/119
onions 60
ophiolites 22
oral traditions 14, 17, 41, **120–141**
orogenic movement 22
Otter *(Lutra lutra)* 41
Oulagul / Aulagal 20
Ovis amon poli (Marco Polo Sheep) 41
oxen 60; *p 126*/123, *p 132*/126

P

pačow / brăpek 103
pāji 130
Pakhtu / Pushtu 20, 49; *p 70*/87; 89, 99; *p 109*/110
Pakutgrom (in Keshtagrom) *p 19*/between 44 & 45
palae / pale / palä / pel'ä / palai 71, 73, 74–79, 82–84, 92–96, 99; *p 132*/126
Palaeozoic phyllites 22
Palé 81
Paludan, K. 40–43
Palyuk, tomb of *p 134*/between 128 & 129
Pām'ān tatba 92
paner-i-xām 89
Panicum miliaceum (common millet) 51–52, 54
Panthera pardus (leopard) 41
Papruk / Baprok 20, 22, 83; *p 96*/105
Parachinar *f 4*/27
parakeet *(Psittacula himalayana)* 42
Parun house type 115
Parun River 17, 20, 22, 97; *p 125*/122
Parun Valley *f 23*/63; 65, 69–70, 74, 76; *p 60*/opposite 79, *p 61*/opposite 79; 81–83, 85, 91, 94–95, 97, 99–100, 103, 105, 108, 113, 116; *f 55*/117; *p 120*/opposite 120, *p 121*/opposite 120, *p 122*/opposite 120, *p 123*/121, *p 124*/121, *p 125*/122; *f 59*/123; *p 126*/123, *p 129*/126, *p 130*/126, *p 131*/126, *p 132*/126, *p 133*/between 128 & 129, *p 134*/between 128 & 129, *p 135* /between 128 & 129; 138, 150
Paruni / Prasun 16–17, 21, 25, 69, 91, 97, 99, 105, 113, 115; *p 122*/opposite 120, *p 129*/126
Pasanda Kōt *p 96*/105
Pashai 16; *p 18a*/opposite 44
Pashingiaban Dázi f 56/118
Pashki / Pushkigrom 20–21, 27, 37–38, 40, 42, 61; *f 23*/63; 70, 93–95, 98, 115–116; *p 122*/opposite 120, *p 124*/121; *f 58*/121; *p 125*/122, *p 126*/123, *p 136*/between 128 & 129; 142
Pashto (see Pushtu)
pasture calendars *(Weide-Kalender)* 91
pastures, mountain 28–29; *p 5*/opposite 31; 38–41; *p 35*/55; 57, 60, 64, 69–70; *p 57*/opposite 71; 73, 75–77, 79; *p 62*/80; *f 37*/80; **82–101**; *f 57*/119; *p 119*/119; *song*/between 120 & 121; 148
Patsho 129
Patu 81
Pātūl (of Nisheigrom) 130, 132, 139
Pātūl dari (clan) 139
peaches 35
pears 62
peas 21, 50, 52, 54, 60, *p 51*/68
pēč 89
Pech River 14, 25–26, 28, 31, 33, 40, 65; *p 114*/opposite 112, *p 119*/119, *p 114*/between 140 & 141
Pech Valley 20, 22; *f 6*/30, *f 8*/33; 34, 37; *p 15*/39, *p 19*/between 44 & 45; 51; *f 17*/53; *p 35*/55; 61, 69, 100, 106, 108; *p 114*/opposite 112, *p 119*/119; 138; *p 144*/between 140 & 141; 150; *p 151*/opposite 150, *p 154*/153
Pemjil tatba 92
penitentes / Büßerschnee 28
Pepjil tatba 92
percussion instruments (see 'drums')
Perinta / Waramdesh *p 28*/51
persimmon *(Diospyros lotus)* 35, 61
Petaurista petaurista (Common Giant Flying Squirrel) 40
Pezgal 95
pheasant (see 'Monal')
phyllites 22
Phytolacca (pocan / pokeweed) 35
Picea morinda (see *Picea smithiana*)
Picea smithiana 31, 32–33, 37, 46, 119; *p 124*/121, *p 154*/153
Pika, Large-Eared *(Ochotona macrotis)* 41
pik'ū p 16/42, *p 45*/63, *p 81*/90, *p 98*/106; 115, 117
pillar / column *p 3*/29, *p 44*/opposite 62; *f 24*/66, *f 25*/67; *p 82*/91, *p 87*/opposite 96, *p 89*/opposite 97; 114, 116–117; *p 138*/130; *f 61*/131; *p 145*/between 140 & 141
pinachion 16
pine nuts (see *'Pinus gerardiana'*)
pine trees 21, 31, 35, 37; *f 33*/77
pini 16
Pinus deodara (see *Cedrus deodara*)
Pinus excelsa Wall. (see *Pinus wallichiana*)
Pinus gerardiana Wall. 21, 31–32, 37, 46, 62, 64, 119; *p 124*/121
Pinus griffithii (see *Pinus wallichiana*)
Pinus longifolia 33
Pinus morinda (see *Picea smithiana*)
Pinus nepalensis (see *Pinus wallichiana*)
Pinus smithiana (see *Picea smithiana*)
Pinus spectabilis (see *Abies spectabilis*)
Pinus wallichiana 21, 31, 37, 46, *f 57*/119; *p 124*/121, *p 154*/153
Pistacia vera 33
Pittigul / Pitigil 20, 58
Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford *p 101*/opposite 107; *f 48*/107
place names, Paruni 95
ploughs & ploughing 58; *f 59*/123; *p 126*/123
pocan / pokeweed *(Phytolacca)* 35
Podophyllum 37
poetry 42, 126, 143
pole, notched *f 15*/47
political organization 45
pomegranates 21, 35, 62
poplars *p 5*/opposite 31; 38; *p 61*/opposite 79; 103; *p 130*/126
population figures for Nuristan 13
porcupine *(Hystrix indica)* 40
potatoes 60
pot-making *p 67*/82; 102–103, 105
pots, clay *p 67*/82; 103, 105, 113
potter 45; *p 67*/82; 102, 113
potter's turntable *p 67*/82
potter's wheel unknown in Nuristan *p 67*/82
Prasun (see 'Parun')
Prasun Language (Paruni) 14, 16–17
prayer board *p 81*/90
Precambrian gneisses 22
precipitation (see also 'monsoon') 24–25; *f 3*/26, *f 4*/27; 37; *p 125*/122; 149–150
prestige 31, 44, 48; *p 77*/between 88 & 89, *p 84*/95; 107
Presun / Parun / Prasun (see 'Parun')
Pronz 16, 21, 69, 83, 92, 96–98, 115–116; *n.*/between 120 & 121; *p 129*/126, *p 131*/126, *p 135*/between 128 & 129; 145
protein (see also 'diet') 54, 84, 90
provinces, Afghan 48
Prus (blade) *f 14*/47
pshál (see *šal*)
Pshuwor / Pshui 20
Psittacula himalayana (Slaty-headed parakeet) 42
Pšmi tatba 92
Ptsigal 95, 97
Ptsigrom 29–30, 95
Puccinia graminis (Black rust) 37
pulses 50, 54, 60 (see also 'peas' & 'beans')
punishment for unlawful taking of fruit 62
pumpkin mask *p 122*/opposite 120
pumpkins 85; *p 82*/91, *p 108*/110
Purstam 20
Pušāši *p 121*/opposite 120
Pushkigrom (see 'Pashki')
Pushol / Puchal 100, 129
Pushtu / Pashtu / Pakhtu 20, 49; *p 70*/87; 89, 99; *p 109*/110
puttees *p 31*/53; 81
Puwur tatba 92
Pyrrhocorax graculus (Alpine Chough) 42
Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax (Red-billed Chough) 42

Q

Qader Jan (of Berimdesh, Waigal) 103
Quaternary 22
Quercus baloot Griff. (see 'oak, evergreen')
Quercus dilatata 31, 35
Quercus semecarpifolia 31, 38
querns, rotary 25; *p 37*/59; *f 61*/131
quiver, arrow *poem*/36; *f 62*/139

R

rabies 85
Raccoon Dog *(Nyctereutes procyonides)* 41
Ramgal Valley 20, 22–23; *f 4*/27; 31, 42; *f 14*/47; 91, 100, 129, 150
Ram-üyū p 136/between 128 & 129
rank, social 48; *p 46*/63, *p 77*/between 88 & 89; 95
rank symbols 41; *p 16*/42; *f 12*/opposite 42, *f 17*/opposite 43; 43; *f 20*/between 44 & 45, *f 14*/47; *p 24*/47, *p 25*/47; *f 15*/47, *f 16*/51, *f 19*/56; *p 41*/60, *p 44*/opposite 62, *p 46*/63; *f 24*/66; *p 47*/66, *p 49*/67; *f 26*/68, *f 27*/69, *f 28*/71, *f 32*/76; *p 66*/80, *p 77*/between 88 & 89; *f 42*/90; *p 80*/90; *f 43*/92, *f 44*/93; *p 83*/opposite 94, *p 87*/opposite 96, *p 88*/opposite 96; *f 46*/between 96 & 97; *p 89*/between 96 & 97, *p 91*/98; *f 47*/104, *p 95*/104, *p 97*/105, *p 101*/opposite 107; *f 48*/107, *f 51*/112; 113; *f 52*/114, *f 54*/116; 116; *f 55*/117, *f 56*/118; *p 128*/123, *p 134*/between 128 & 129, *p 136*/between 128 & 129, *p 138*/130; *f 62*/139, *f 63*/140; *p 145*/between 140 & 141, *p 153*/151; *f 65*/151; *f 67*/153
Rathjens, C. 26–28; *f 9*/33; 34–35, 150–151
Raven *(Corvus corax)* 42
Raverty, H. G. 19
Rechinger, K. H. 32, 34, 40
reciprocity 48
rak (red millet) 51
religious festivals (pre-Muslim) 54
rennet *p 57*/opposite 71; 85–86, 88–89; *p 82*/91
rennet cheese 85
Rhesus macaque 40, 52, 59, 149
Rheum tibeticum (wild rhubarb) 14, 39
Rhododendron colletianum 38–39; *f 33*/77
rhubarb *(Rheum tibeticum)* 14, 39
rifles, muzzle-loading 22
rice 51–52, 105
Rig-Veda 14–15
rites of passage 106
roads, motor 49, 149
Robertson, Sir George Scott 16, 20–21, 24–25; *p 2*/29; 41, 43; *f 13*/44, *f 14*/47; *p 24*/47; 60, 70, 82–83, 85–86, 100; *p 99*/106, *p 115*/114; 117, 142, 148
rope *p 15*/39; *f 11*/39; *p 19*/between 44 & 45; 62; *p 155*/153
rotation, crop 51–52
rowan 37
rug, goat-hair *p 30*/52, *p 49*/67, *p 51*/68; 93, 113
rust, black *(Puccinia graminis)* 37

S

Sadel Pass 38
saeter (alpine herding camps; see *ǩāl*)
Safed Koh *f 4*/27, *f 33*/77
safed posh (white clad) *f 23*/63; *p 122*/opposite 120
Safi (Afghans) 20, 40, 69, 91, 100, 106
sagam / wřikā / kun'a p 28/51; 118; *p 128*/123
Saidu Sharif *f 4*/27
ǩāl (herdsmen's alpine camps) 22, 28; *p 53*/68; 72–74; *p 60*/opposite 79; 79; *p 62*/80, *p 63*/80, *p 64*/80, *p 65*/80; **82–101**; *f 57*/119; *p 119*/119; 132
salt *p 65*/80; 83, 85, 105; *p 118*/118
sandals *p 35*/55
Sanskrit 40
sara 57
saraṇi f 39/87; *p 76*/between 88 & 89; 143–145
Saru / Sunra 20
Satrgrom / Narsut 70, 100
Satsumgrom / Zumu 24, 42
sät-wayi 93, 95
sausages *p 85*/95
saw, carpenter's *p 48*/66
ǩawarṭ āmā (birth & menstruation house) 132; *p 151*/opposite 150
ǩawarṭi (midwife) 132; *p 151*/opposite 150
Sayid Ghulam (of Keshtagrom) *p 48*/66, *p 106*/109; 114
scarecrows 59
Schneider, P. 40
school, girls' 48; *p 109*/110
schools & schooling 48–49; *p 39*/60, *p 70*/87, *p 109*/110
Selenarctos thibetanus (Himalayan Black Bear) 41
self-sufficiency 102, 106
Seŋki-dari 132–133
Setaria italica (Italian millet) 51–52, 76
šewala 102, 113, 138–139
sežma 97
Shah Derwish (of Pronz) 92, 94–95, 97
shed (weaving) *p 30*/52, *p 31*/53
shed stick *p 30*/52; *f 17*/53; *p 31*/53
sheep, domestic 52, 65, 71–73, 83, 85, 98; *p 153*/151
sheep, Marco Polo *(Ovis amon poli)* 41
sheep shearing 72, 98
shepherd (see 'herdsmen')
Shidgul / Ichemgal 20
shield 36
Shingiaban Dázi f 56/118
Shino 140
Shkorigul / Skorigul 20, 25–26, 30–31, 38; *p 36*/58
shoemaker *p 71*/87; 113
shoes, goat-skin 41; *p 71*/87
Shookagar 81
shops 108, 110
Shpik (dagger sheath) *f 14*/47
Shtiwe / Shtevgrom 20, 22, 24, 35, 41, 51–52, 70; *p 60*/opposite 79, *p 64*/80; 94, 98, 115–116; *p 120*/opposite 120, *p 121*/opposite 120; *n.*/between 120 & 121; *p 123*/121, *p 125*/122, *p 131*/126, *p 134*/between 128 & 129; 142, 144
Shup (of Ktiwi) *p 19*/between 44 & 45
Shuruk (winnowing scoop) *f 14*/47
shuttle (weaving) *p 30*/52; *f 17*/53; *p 31*/53
siah-posh (black-clad) *p 36*/58; *f 23*/63; *p 122*/opposite 120
Siiger, Halfdan 17
Silmič (a tower in Pronz) *p 129*/126
siltation, flood 151
silver cup *p 20*/between 44 & 45; *f 44*/93; 108
silversmithing 113, 139
simči pel'ä 92, 94–96
siŋ-kū ('horn' chair) *f 55*/117
siŋ-niš'ā ('horn' chair) *f 54*/116 (see also *p 66*/80 and *f 55*/117)
šip'ū (a type of rennet cheese) 85, 89
Skorigul / Shkorigul 20, 25–26, 30–31, 38; *p 36*/58
slates, building 22
Slavonic (language) Branch 15
smith (see 'blacksmith')
smoke hole *p 52*/68, *p 69*/82; *f 50*/111; 115–116; *p 123*/121
snakes 40
snowcock *(Tetraogallus himalayensis)* 42
snow line 23, 29, 56; *f 33*/77
Snoy, Peter 100
social distance 45
social organization 44–49, 102–110
social stratification 45, 102
socks, goat-hair *p 72*/87
soil 22–23, 26; *f 5*/30; 35; *p 13*/37; 39, 58, 61, 64, 149–151
soil fertility 54
solar observations 56
Solstice, Summer 57
Solstice, Winter 57
soma 14, 40
songs *18a*/opposite 44; 58; *p 42*/between 60 & 61; 69, 84; *f 53*/115; 127–128, **133–138**, 141–147
songs, herdsmen's 87, 97, 120
songs, love 120, **136–138**
sonogi 81
sorghum 21
soup 54
sour milk 84, 86
sowing grain *p 7*/opposite 31; 50–52, 57–58, 60, 93, 97; *f 59*/123
spade (see 'fork, traction')
spinning *p 32*/53, *p 40*/60
Spring climate 25; *f 3*/26; 26
spruce (see *Picea smithiana*) 37
squirrel, flying *(Petaurista petaurista)* 40
squirrel, Smaller Kashmir Flying *(Hylopetes fimbriatus)* 40
stables, mountain (see *'šal'*)
stables, winter 25, 41, 54, 57, 64–65, 70–71, 77, 82; *p 92*/99; 113; *p 125*/122, *p 132*/126, *p 140*/138, *p 147*/141
staple foods 51
State Film Central, Danish (Copenhagen) 52, 62–63, 113
statues, funeral *f 10*/36; 37; *f 56*/118
statues, wooden memorial *f 10*/36, *f 15*/47; *p 24*/47; *f 56*/118
status, achieved 44–45; *p 77*/between 88 & 89; 107
status, ascribed 44–45, 102
status, social 44–45, 48, 102, 107
steatite 22; *p 66*/80
stick, balancing (women's) 26; *p 6*/opposite 31; 31; *p 119*/119
stick, walking (men's) 31, 103; *p 138*/130; *f 63*/140
stock owners 92
storage, grain *p 52*/68, *p 69*/82, *p 82*/91; 106, 113; *f 58*/121; *p 132*/126
storeroom (see also *'ateram ganja'* & *'berim ganja'*) *p 82*/91, *p 88*/opposite 96, *p 99*/106; 109, 114–115
Strand, R. E. 17, 61, 70; *f 30*/73; 74, 81, 90, 101, 149
štümbala 114
sub-alpine vegetation 31, 38–39
sub-alpine zone 38
śūdra 14
sugar 105
sumbara 93
Summer climate 26, 28; *f 34*/78
Summer livestock migrations (transhumance) 50, 57, **65–70**, 71–90, 91–99, 100–101
Summer temperatures 24; *f 4*/27; 28; *f 5*/30, *f 34*/78
sun and the moon in mythology (see Ašpegra) 120, 124; *p 131*/126
Sunaratčem / Demučem (in Nisheigrom) 132
Sunarat dari (mata) *p 115*/114; 139
Sunra / Saru 20
supernatural events 120, **122**
Surmei 28, 38
Sus scrofa (wild hog) 40
Suyengal 28–29, 38; *f 34*/78
s'vätra 14, 40
Swat *f 4*/27; 100–101
Symbolae Afghanicae 34

T

Tagamin *f 30*/73
Tajiks 21

tanners 45
tatba 92
Taxus baccata ssp. wall. (see *Taxus wallichiana*)
Taxus contorta (see *Taxus wallichiana*)
Taxus wallichiana 31, 38
tea 105
telarek / telarex 97
temple, Kafir 16; *p 130*/126
Terpsiphone paradisi (Paradise Flycatcher) 42
terraced fields 22, 26; *p 4*/opposite 31, *p 7*/opposite 31, *p 8–9*/opposite 32; *f 8*/33; *p 10*/33; 34–35; *p 15*/39, *p 22*/45; 50–51; *p 28*/51, *p 29*/52, *p 33*/54; 58, 63–64, 71; *p 75*/88, *p 108*/110; *f 57*/119; *p 119*/119, *p 126*/123, *p 137*/between 128 & 129, *p 141*/138
Tertiary (geological period) 22
Tepeš 98
Tešatawod 98
tešpra-pel'ä 95
Tetot Valley 98
Tetraogallus himalayensis (Snowcock) 42
təwət 82
theft 57
Thesiger, W. 22, 100
threshing *p 34*/54; 60–61; *p 69*/82; 94, 98; *p 132*/126
Thrush, Blue Whistling *(Myiophoneus caeruleus)* 41
Tichodroma muraria (Wall Creeper) 42
Tili / Tli 20
tilling the soil 26; *p 7*/opposite 31, *p 15*/39; 58, 93, 123
timber 35, 37; *p 48*/66, *p 91*/98; 115, 117; *p 128*/123, *p 136*/between 128 & 129, *p 149*/143; 149–150
timber line 22, 28, 35, 39–40, 43, 70; *f 33*/77; 86; *p 123*/121; *f 59*/123
time-reckoning (see also 'calendars' & 'calendar systems') 57, 60, 74, 76, 91–99
timiki p 117/115
Timur, Amir 19, 30
tišti 95, 97
Titin 24, *p 39*/60, *p 72*/87
Titin-Nakara 24
Tiwak 95
tizi 94, 97
tkomič 94, 97
Tli / Tili 20
Tocharian (language) Branch 15
Togo 72
tomato 37, 60
tomb *p 97*/105, *p 134*/between 128 &129
tools, agricultural (see also 'flail', 'fork, traction') *f 11*/39; 62, 63; *f 59*/123; *p 126*/123
tools, blacksmith's *p 43*/61; 139
tools, carpenter's *f 22*/62, *f 23*/63, *f 38*/82; 103, 117
topsoil, loss of (see 'erosion')
Torag Merak *p 2*/29, *p 113*/opposite 112
torches, pine *p 33*/54; 58; *p 85*/95
towers, stone 83; *p 96*/105; 118; *p 120*/opposite 120, *p 123*/121, *p 129*/126, *p 131*/126, *p 136*/between 128 & 129
traction fork (see 'fork, traction')
trade / traders 108, 110
transhumance 50, 57, **65–70**, 71–90, 91–99, 100–101
transhumance & calendar systems 57, 91–97
trapdoor 115
tree types found in Nuristan 31, *f 7*/32; 46, 61
Tregam 14, 31; *p 53*/68
tripod tables 16, 71, *p 85*/95; 103, 105; *f 56*/118; *p 145*/between 140 & 141
Triticum durum (Hard wheat) 52
Triticum vulgare (Soft wheat) 51–52
Trumpp, E. *p 87*/opposite 96
Tsamgal 22, 25, 28; *p 10*/33; 40; *p 18*/44, *p 23*/46; 69; *p 56*/70; 74; *p 62*/80, *p 63*/80
Tsukui 72, 85, 103
tuberculosis *p 135*/between 128 & 129
Tuch f 56/118
Tusum / *tu-Zum* / Zumu 95

U

übäazuk / *äbäisuk* 94–95, 97
ucapər 14, 40
učeneš 95
üf'ü (white millet) 51
Ülaisum 28, 38, 100
'Ulus Khan, Malik (of Kurdar) 126
Uncia uncia / *Felis uncia* 41
ündér 57
ünderü 57
UNESCO (MAB Report, Series 34) 151, 153
üngu-la 93, 95
Upupa epops (Hoopoe) 42
urb'a p 121/opposite 120
urei p 20/between 44 & 45; *f 44*/93; *p 138*/130
ürei / *mäla wřäi* 57, 62, 69, 71, 73
Urmir / Ürmür 20
Ursus arctos (Brown Bear) 40
ürü 57
ürü 94–95, 97
U-shaped valleys 16, 22; *f 2*/23; 51, 65, 70
usömio 97
ustäiš 93
ustök-pel'ä 92–93
ustuma kera f 42/90
uštuuä (whey) 84, 88
Utadari (clan) *p 113*/opposite 112
ütü-lau 70
üz-bazal 92–93
Uzhamezhalgul / Yushumeshalgal 20, *p 60*/opposite 79, *p 61*/opposite 79, *p 64*/80, *p 65*/80
uzugu-pel'ä 92, 94–96

V

values, relative (economic) 105, 108
Vama (see 'Wama')
Vassilczenko, I. T. 35
vat, stone (for pressing grapes) *f 41*/89
Vavilov, N. I. 20, 38, 52; *p 136*/between 128 & 129; 148
vegetables (see also 'pulses') *p 108*/110
vegetation 28; *p 4*/opposite 31; **31–40**; *p 21*/45, 50, 56, 65, 70; *f 33*/77; 83; *p 123*/121, *p 124*/121; 149
vegetation profile 33
vegetation zones 31, 33, **38–40**
verandah *p 1*/28, *p 2*/29, *p 3*/29, *p 4*/opposite 31, *p 16*/42, *p 17*/opposite 43, *p 18*/44, *p 30*/52, *p 40*/60, *p 44*/opposite 62, *p 45*/63, *p 49*/67, *p 66*/80, *p 70*/87, *p 71*/87, *p 80*/90, *p 81*/90, *p 87*/opposite 96, *p 88*/opposite 96, *p 89*/opposite 97, *p 91*/98, *p 98*/106, *p 99*/106; 114–118; *f 61*/131; *p 144*/between 140 & 141, *p 146*/141, *p 147*/141
villages, location of 31; *p 4*/opposite 31, *p 8–9*/opposite 32; 54
vineyard 35
Viscum album 34
Viscum dryophilum Rech. fil. n. sp. 34
Vitamin C 61
Vitis nuristanica Vassilcz. 35
V-shaped valleys 16, 22, 25; *p 15*/39; 41, 50–51, 65, 69; *p 75*/88, *p 119*/119, *p 126*/123; 150
Vulture, Bearded *(Gypaëtus barbatus)* 43

W

Wäči (of Shtiwe) *p 121*/opposite 120; *song*/between 120 & 121
wädsuk 25
wages (for herdsmen) 81
Waigal house type 116
Waigali language / Wai-ala / Kalash-ala 14–15, 82
Waigali people (see 'Kalaša')
Waigal Valley 16–17, 22–24, 27–28; *p 4*/opposite 31, *p 5*/opposite 31, *p 6*/opposite 31, *p 7*/opposite 31; 31; *p 8–9*/opposite 32; 34; *p 12*/37, *p 13*/37, *p 14*/opposite 38, *p 15*/39; 40–42; *p 17*/opposite 43, *p 18*/44, *p 20*/between 44 & 45, *p 21*/45, *p 22*/45; 49; *p 29*/52, *p 31*/53; 54; *f 18*/55; 56, 58, 60; *p 40*/60, *p 41*/60, *p 42*/between 60 & 61, *p 45*/63, *p 46*/63; 65; *p 47*/66, *p 49*/67, *p 50*/67, *p 51*/68, *p 52*/68, *p 53*/68; 69–71, 75; *p 67*/82; 85; *p 75*/88, *p 76*/between 88 & 89, *p 79*/opposite 89, *p 80*/90, *p 81*/90; 91; *p 89*/opposite 94, *p 84*/95, *p 85*/95, *p 87*/opposite 96, *p 88*/opposite 96, *p 89*/opposite 97; 100, 103; *p 97*/105; 108–109, 114; *p 115*/114, *p 116*/115, *p 117*/115; 116–117; *p 118*/118, *p 124*/121, *p 137*/between 128 & 129, *p 138*/130, *p 139*/131; 138; *p 145*/between 140 & 141, *p 147*/141; 149–150
Waigal village *p 12*/37, *p 13*/37; 40; *p 20*/between 44 & 45, *p 26*/50, *p 27*/50, *p 28*/51, *p 34*/54, *p 42*/between 60 & 61, *p 45*/63; 75, 85; *p 75*/88, *p 76*/between 88 & 89, *p 83*/opposite 94, *p 87*/opposite 96, *p 88*/opposite 96; 101, 103, 105, 110; *p 142*/139, *p 145*/between 140 & 141, 142–144
waj (Nuristani harp) *p 25*/47, *p 42*/between 60 & 61; *f 40*/88; 133, 142–146
Wakhan *f 33*/77
Wali (Governor) 48
Wali Mohammad (of Zhönchigal) *p 50*/67
walnut harvest 63, 79; *p 84*/95
walnuts 105, 108; *p 112*/110; 119; *p 135*/between 128 & 129
walnut trees 21, 25; *p 4*/opposite 31; 35; *p 15*/39; 51; *p 28*/51; 61, 63–64; *p 78*/opposite 89
walnut wood *f 14*/47; 103; *f 56*/118
Wama 21–22, 25; *f 3*/26, *f 8*/33; 34–35, 37–38; *p 15*/39; 42; *p 20*/between 44 & 45; 51; *f 17*/53; *p 35*/55; 61–62; *f 24*/66, *f 25*/67; 69, 88; *f 41*/89; 89, 105; *p 114*/opposite 112; 117; *p 119*/119; *f 59*/123; 133; *p 144*/between 140 & 141; 142, 150; *p 151*/opposite 150, *p 154*/153
wami-uza 81
Wanasgul 100
wanjal (horizontal water mill) 109
Want 27–28, 31
Wardesh / *Kilakara* 75–76, 85
Waromdesh / Perinta / Waramdesh *p 28*/51, *p 45*/63, *p 76*/between 88 & 89, *p 83*/opposite 94
warp (weaving) *f 17*/53; *p 31*/53
warriors *p 24*/47, *p 25*/47, *p 83*/opposite 94; 120, 133, 140
warrior raids *p 16*/42; *f 15*/47
warrior ranks *f 12*/42; 45; *f 15*/47; 48
was'lik (ceremonial axe) *p 101*/opposite 107; *f 48*/107
wästeniik 57
wasunt 57
wat'čeri'čom 83
water allocation *p 33*/54; 57–58
water energy 61, 150
water mills, horizontal 21, 25, 100; *f 49*/**109**; *p 106*/109, *p 107*/109; 113, 118; *f 57*/119; *p 125*/122
water shortages 28; *p 13*/37
Wazbri *p 113*/opposite 112

weapons 103, 108, [illegible]ee also *'katara'* & 'bow & arrow', etc.)
weaving 45; *p 30*/52; *f 17*/**53**; *p 31*/53, *p 68*/82, *p 90*/opposite 97; 102, 113; *p 155*/153
weaving sword *p 30*/52; *f 17*/53; *p 31*/53
wedding 108; *p 110*/110, *p 111*/110, *p 112*/110
wedding feasts *p 110*/110, *p 112*/110, *p 115*/114
weeding *p 12*/37; 59; *p 86*/opposite 96
weft *p 30*/52, *p 31*/53
Weligal 31, 72, 103
wenzo 81
Weran Pass / Kamah 20, 41
Wezgul 20, 22
Wheat, Hard *(Triticum durum)* 52
wheat (*Triticum vulgare eligulatum* Vav.) 21, 50–52, 58; *p 36*/58; 60, 108; *p 111*/110, *p 112*/110, *p 116*/115
whey *p 57*/opposite 71; *f 31*/76; *p 64*/80; 84, 86, 88–90; *p 82*/91
whey cheese 85–86, 89–90
wickerwork 103; *p 112*/110; 113; *f 56*/118
Wilayat 48
willow 38, 58; *f 31*/76; 100, 103; *f 59*/123; *p 155*/153
wine *p 20*/between 44 & 45; 89; *p 82*/91
wine cup, silver *p 20*/between 44 & 45; *f 44*/93; 108, 130
wine-making *f 41*/89
winnowing *p 69*/82; 103; *p 133*/between 128 & 129
winnowing scoop *(Shuruk) f 14*/47
Winter climate 23
Winter clothing 25
Winter feeding of livestock 65, 69
Winter grazing 65, 69–71
Winter solstice 25, 57
Winter stables (see 'stables, winter')
Winter temperatures 23–25
wïški-la 70
Wolkenwald 35
Woluswali 48
wolves 41, 65, 83
Woodpecker, Himalayan Pied *(Dendrocopus himalayensis)* 42
Woodthorpe, Col. R. G. 28; *f 10*/36; *p 100*/opposite 107, *p 101*/opposite 107; *f 48*/107
woof (weaving) *p 30*/52, *p 31*/53
wool 21; *p 36*/58; *f 23*/63; 71, 81, 98–99, 105, 113; *p 122*/opposite 120, *p 129*/126
women's work 50, 59
workshop, shoemaker's *p 71*/87
wřikā / sagam / kun'a p 28/51; 118; *p 128*/123
Würm glaciation 29, 35

Y

yarn, goat-hair *p 68*/82, *p 155*/153
yew (see *'Taxus'*)
yiweš pel'ä 92, 94–97
yuğu / üux / uy'uk 82
Yushumeshalgal / Uzhamezhalgul 20; *p 60*/opposite 79, *p 61*/opposite 79, *p 64*/80, *p 65*/80

Z

zang 57
zapate-la 70
zarä 85
Zäräï 85, 88
Zhönchigal 16, 28; *p 4*/opposite 31, *p 5*/opposite 31, *p 6*/opposite 31, *p 7*/opposite 31, *p 8–9*/opposite 32, *p 14*/opposite 38; 40, 42; *p 17*/opposite 43, *p 20*/between 44 & 45; *f 16*/51; *p 31*/53, *p 32*/53, *p 33*/54, *p 37*/59, *p 40*/60; 62; *p 44*/opposite 62, *p 46*/63, *p 50*/67; 71–72, 75, 84–85; *p 79*/opposite 89; 89; *p 80*/90, *p 81*/90, *p 84*/95, *p 89*/opposite 97; 103, 105; *p 138*/130; *f 61*/131; 142, 145
Zidik (Azetik) Pass 28
Zizyphus vulgaris (Jujube) 21, 25, 35; *p 81*/90
zor-mërwa (large wooden bowl) 75
žu-deri p 4/opposite 31, *p 8–9*/opposite 32, *p 80*/90, *p 138*/130

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